The Diary and Correspondence of HENRY WELLESLEY FIRST LORD COWLEY 1790-1846

Edited by

Col. the Hon. F. A. WELLESLEY

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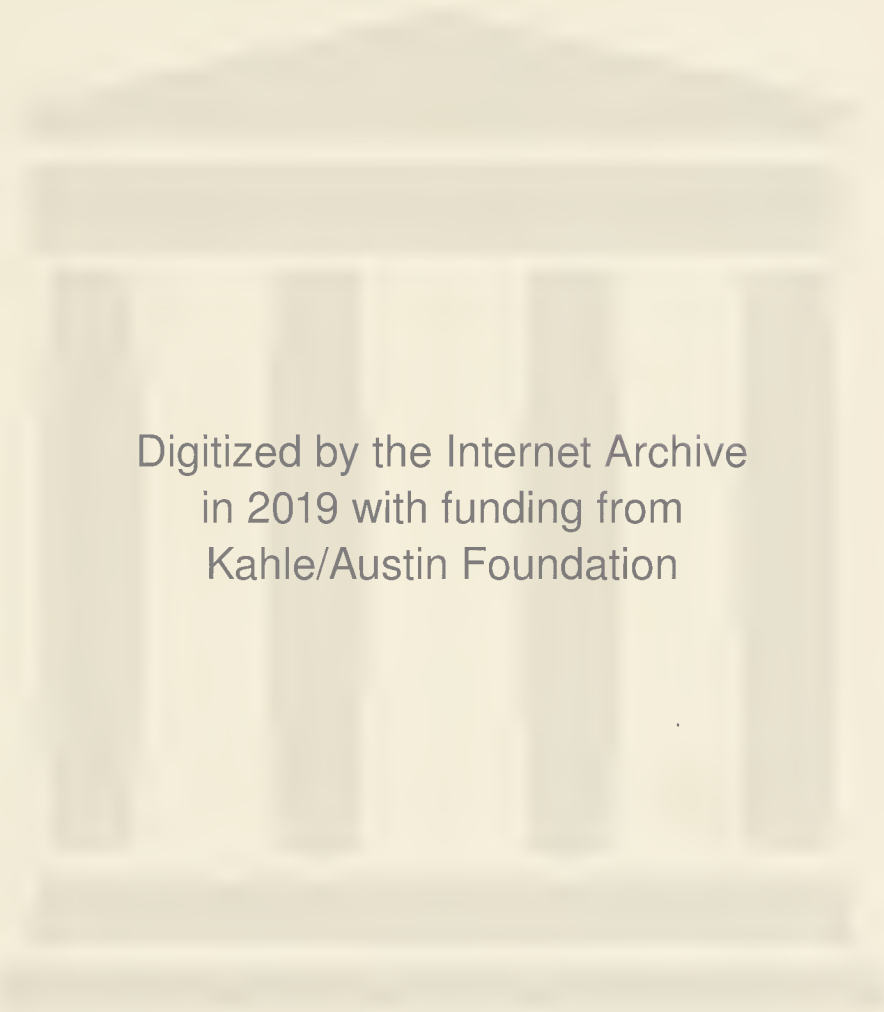
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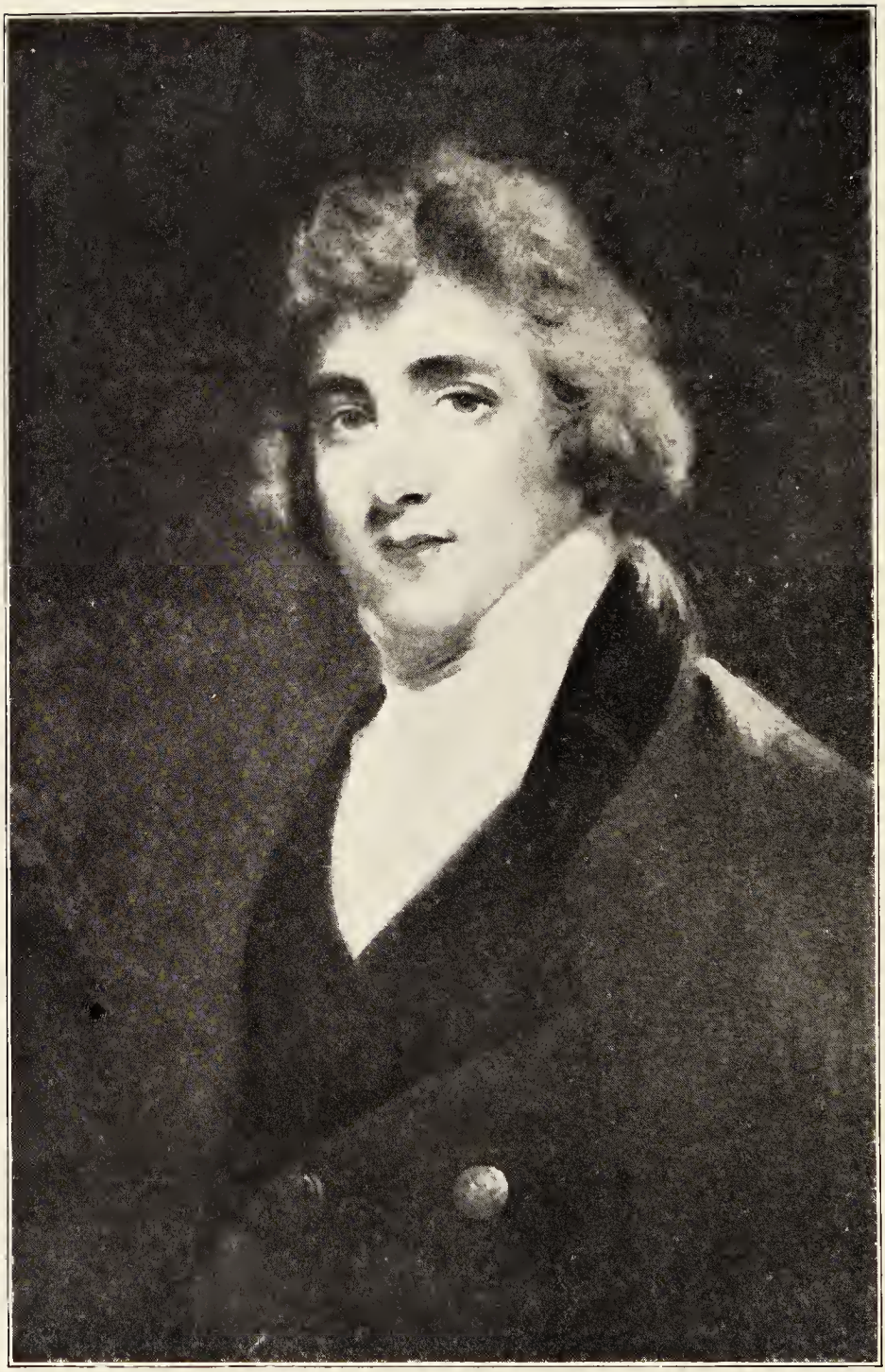

Henry, 1st Lord Cowley.

From the picture by Hoppner in the Collection of the Duke of Wellington.

THE DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY WELLESLEY FIRST LORD COWLEY

1790-1846

Edited by his Grandson
COLONEL THE HON. F. A. WELLESLEY
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With 24 Illustrations

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THE DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY WELLESLEY THE FIRST LORD COWLEY

1790-1846

INTRODUCTORY

I do not suppose that there have been many public men of the nineteenth century who achieved as much for their country as did my grandfather, Henry Wellesley, whose biographies have remained unwritten till the present day.

I have in my possession diaries covering certain periods of his diplomatic career which have not before been published, and which I give here with very little abridgment. The remaining years I have endeavoured to fill in from his correspondence (for the most part private and confidential) with the different ministers under whom he served. Many of the letters are now published for the first time.

It is unfortunate that no Diary can be found of Wellesley's Spanish Embassy, for his work during the Peninsular War undoubtedly contributed largely to the success of our military operations.

The Westleys, Wesleys or Wellesleys were originally from the county of Sussex. The ancestor who first settled in Ireland was standard-bearer to Henry II, whom he accompanied on his expedition to that country in 1172, and from whom he received large grants of land in the counties of Kildare and Meath.

Another ancestor was Sir Henry Cowley or Colley, who owned Castle Carberry in Kildare, in the reign of Elizabeth. He was knighted by the Lord-Deputy Sidney who thus recommended him to his successor the Lord Grey : " Sir Henry Cowley, a knight of my own making, who, whilst he was young, and the ability and strength of his body served, was valiant, fortunate, and a good servant."

One of his descendants married Garrett Wesley of Dangan Castle in the county of Meath ; and in 1728 Richard Colley, Henry Wellesley's grandfather, succeeded to the estates of his cousin, Garrett Wesley of Dangan. He assumed the name and arms of

Wesley and was created Baron Mornington of Mornington in the county of Meath in 1746.

Richard's eldest son, Garrett, who succeeded to the estates in 1758, was remarkable for his musical talents, which attracted the notice of George III. He composed some well-known glees, among them : " Here in Cool Grot " and " Come, Fairest Nymph" ; and certain church music which is still in use at the present day. The degree of Doctor of Music was conferred upon him in 1764 ; he was M.P. for the family borough of Trim in 1757, and in 1760 he was advanced to the peerage with the titles Viscount Wellesley of Dangan Castle and Earl of Mornington. It was not until 1798 that the family name was changed to Wellesley.

Lord Mornington married Anne Hill, daughter of the first Viscount Dungannon, a lady of strong character. In her " Life and Correspondence " Mrs. Delany refers to her " Godson Garrett Wesley " and has a good deal to say about his choice of a wife :

February 3, 1759.—" I saw Lady Kildare and her two blooming sisters at the play—Lady Louisa Conolly (the bride) and Lady Sarah Lenox, who I think the prettiest of the two. Lord Mornington was at the play, and looked *as solemn* as one should suppose the young lady he is engaged to would have done ! They are to be married next Tuesday. . . . Lord Mornington has acted very generously on the occasion. When he made his proposal, Mr. Hill told him he did him and his daughter a great deal of honour, but that he could not pretend to give his daughter a fortune any way suitable to his Lordship's estate without injuring his other daughters. Lord Mornington said he did *not* desire *any fortune*, but would settle £1,600 a year jointure on Miss Hill, and five hundred a year pin money ; and if she had any fortune, desired it might be laid out in jewels for her. I hope she will prove deserving of this pretty behaviour, and make him happy : he is a very good young man on the whole ; but where is the perfect creature ? "

March 10, 1759.—" Lord and Lady Mornington dined with us, but I did not give them a wedding entertainment ; my dessert was all Smith's fancy, and *very pretty* and much set off by some fine china, part of my dear Bushe's legacy. Lord Mornington seems *very happy* as well as his Lady, a pair of good-humoured young things, but I think her education not finished enough for her to make any considerable figure, nor her judgment sufficient to get the better of some disadvantages *he* has had in his education."

Dangan Castle.

However deficient in education Lady Mornington may have been from Mrs. Delany's standpoint, she must have been a woman of considerable ability, for although left a widow with very slender means while most of her children were still young, she gave them an education and upbringing which fitted them for the high public positions to which they attained.

Of her five sons, the eldest was created Marquis Wellesley; the second, Baron Maryborough; the third, Duke of Wellington; the fourth became Bishop of Durham; and the youngest, Henry, the subject of this book, first Baron Cowley. The only daughter, Anne, married, first, the Hon. Henry Fitzroy, and, secondly, Charles Culling Smith.

Henry Wellesley was twice married. He secured a divorce from his first wife. The letters which follow were written soon after his return from India in 1803, upon the subject of his engagement and first marriage.

Lady Wellesley to Lord Wellesley. Brighton. August 22, 1803.— " . . . Tu seras bien étonné, cher ami, d'entendre que Mr. Henry va se marier tout de suite à la sœur de Lady Emily Wellesley, fille aînée de Lord Cadogan, qui n'est ni riche ni jolie. Ce pauvre Henri est si indolent, si paresseux que je suis sûre que ce n'est que l'occasion d'avoir trouvé cette jeune personne dans la maison de Mr. Gerald[1] ou il logeait et ou elle restait avec sa sœur qui aura rendu Henri amoureux bien plus que la beauté et la vertu de la future. D'ailleurs il est écrit qu'aucun des Wellesleys feront de grands mariages; si le tient n'a pas été meilleur au moins il fut le plus *wise* en ce que tu avais éprouvé ta femme avant de l'engager ce qui a mon avis est le plus grand des avantages et s'il faut en croire les bruits public, Gerald et Henri auraient été bien fortunés d'en pouvoir faire autant avec leurs femmes qui sont *very high spirit and very gai*. Pour moi j'ai toujours trouvé Lady Emily très aimable, franche et bonne avec moi et ses *manners* bien différentes que ta diablesse de mère et ta fausse et maussade sœur. Pour la première . . . je compare sa société a celle des francs maçons ou l'on n'admet que ceux qui sont dans les secrets; les autres sont des novices. La mère et la sœur sont furieuses de ce mariage. Nous serons trop de femmes pour que les partis restent d'accord. Moi je serai d'aucun

[1] Henry Wellesley's brother, afterwards Bishop of Durham, who had married Lord Cadogan's elder daughter.

et même serais aux depens d'eux tous ne me souciant d'aucune d'elles pas plus qu'elles ne se soucient de moi. Qu'elles s'arrangents Elles disent que Mr. Henry s'est trop pressé de se marier ; cela est vrai, mais il fut pris dans les filets des deux sœurs qui l'aiment beaucoup. Enfin je ne puis te dire davantage sur ce sujet. Mr. Henry m'en fit part par une lettre très jolie."

September 25.—" Je t'ai annoncé, cher ami, dans ma précédente le mariage de Mr. Henry avec la sœur ainée de la femme de Mr. Gerald. Tu vois qu'il n'a voulu perdre le temps après son arrivée. *On m'a dit* que toute ta chère famille enrageait de ce mariage car je ne suis pas admise comme tu t'en doute bien dans leur confidence ; aussi tout le reste de mes jours ils doivent bien s'attendre que je les arrangerais de la même manière et qu'aucun d'eux n'aura le [*word missing*] dans les affaires de ma famille. Ta mère est allée en Wales chez le ridicule et pedant Dungannon . . . A l'instant je reçois une lettre charmante de Lady Emily Wellesley qui me marque qu'elle vient de l'église où sa chére sœur vient d'être mariée par Mr. Gerald à Mr. Henry ; qu'ils étaient tous très agités. Le mariage s'est fait chez le père Lord Cadogan ; aucun de la famille n'y était. Les époux ont été passer la semaine chez Mr. Singleton."

Anne, Lady Mornington to her son Lord Wellesley. February 3, 1804. —" The surprise, and, I must confess, vexation of dearest Henry's sudden determination to marry and form the same odious connection that Gerald had done, affected my spirits beyond all description. He also looked so dreadfully ill that I thought the first day he arrived that he really would not live many months. He is, thank God, better in health, tho' still very thin, and as he seems to be perfectly happy, I do all I can to reconcile myself to his having been taken by *storm*. I flew from them and took a long journey into Wales, and really think the air of old Bryn Kinalt, the romantick scenes in the mountains, and getting into different society and the total change gave strength both to my body and mind.

" I believe Lady Charlotte is a good natured sort of person. It is impossible but she must love Henry and feel that she is in a situation infinitely beyond what she could expect, therefore I hope she will make it her study to render him happy, but I can see no charm of either person or manner, *mais il ne faut pas disputer les goûts*, and he must certainly be a better judge than I can possibly pretend to be of

Anne, Countess of Mornington.

From the picture by Lady Burghersh in the Collection of the Duke of Wellington.

what constitutes his own happiness. Lady Emily, her sister, who is a second Duchess of Zorn for enterprise, etc., etc., was determined that this match should take place from the moment she heard of Henry's arrival, and laid her plans accordingly. I *can* forgive Lady Charlotte, but for *her* I confess 'tis out of my power to get over the vexation and cruel disappointment she has occasioned me.

"I beg that this 'épanchement de cœur' may be 'entre nous', & I beseech you to destroy this letter."

The fears of the family that the marriage would not be a success were justified, for in 1809 Lady Charlotte eloped with Lord Henry Paget, afterwards Marquis of Anglesea. Wellesley obtained damages against Lord Henry to the amount of £20,000, the case being undefended. In January of the following year his marriage was dissolved by Act of Parliament and Lord Henry Paget married Lady Charlotte.

Henry Wellesley married, a few years after his divorce, Lady Georgina Cecil, the eldest daughter of the first Marquis of Salisbury. She is described in the *Memoirs of the Duchesse de Dino* as "a witty and animated woman."

EARLY DAYS.—1789-1809

The Court at Brunswick—Brussels—The Hague—Stockholm—With the First Guards in Flanders—Captured at Sea—Escape to England—Enters the Foreign Office—With Lord Malmesbury to France, 1797—To India with Lord Wellesley—To England to see Mr. Dundas—Returns to India—Negotiations with the Nabob at Lucknow—Return to Calcutta—Peace with Bonaparte—Return to England and news of fresh outbreak of war—Loss of reward for services in India—War with Spain—Appointed Secretary to the Treasury—The Canning-Castlereagh duel—Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain.

In this chapter, which consists of the earliest portion of the Diary found among his papers, Wellesley tells the story of the first years of his career up to the time of his appointment as Envoy Extraordinary to Spain, in 1809.

There is no indication of the year in which the Diary was begun.

DIARY

It has been observed (originally, I believe, by Doctor Johnson) that were a man (however trifling his occupations) to set down the daily occurrences of his life, they could not fail to form an amusing book, and the justness of this remark has been abundantly proved by the publication within these few years of *Pepys's Journal* and of some of more recent date.

It is not, however, my intention to write a book. I have never kept a journal. My object is more to mark the principal epoques of an active and in some respects an eventful life, than to enter into the details of the various transactions in which I have been engaged.

It is not necessary that I should say anything of my family. I was born in Dublin in the year 1773. I came to England with my family at a very early age, and was educated at Eton. I was not sent to college, which I have always lamented, because I believe that the two or three years passed there by young men previous to their

entering into public life are of the greatest value, not only with the view to the acquirement of knowledge, but also to the forming of friendships and connections which, once formed, usually continue through life. Having, however, chosen the Army for my profession, I was at the early age of seventeen sent to Brunswick to study languages and to acquire some knowledge of the profession I had chosen previous to joining my regiment.

1789.[1]—At that period the Court at Brunswick consisted of the reigning Duke and Duchess, three sons and one daughter. The Duke had the reputation of being the best general in Europe, was a most able administrator of the Dukedom and was much beloved by his subjects. The Duchess (the sister of George III) was also very popular. She showed great kindness to the English, particularly to those who brought her letters of recommendation. I was generally invited to dine at Court once a fortnight and to a party or to supper every Sunday evening. Nothing could be more formal than these entertainments. The dinner, to which about thirty people usually sat down, was served at a long table on one side of which sat the Duchess and the ladies, and the gentlemen opposite to them. The Duke sat at the end of the table and had usually some person next to him with whom he wished to converse and who was selected for that purpose. The supper on Sunday was in the same formal style.

Of the three sons, the youngest, who afterwards succeeded to the Dukedom and was killed at the Battle of Quatre Bras, was the only one of any promise.

The Princess Caroline, afterwards the wife of George IV, was at this period very well looking. It was whispered that she had already betrayed a strong propensity to gallantry, and had entered into a correspondence with a young man of the Duke's household. The lover, getting alarmed, betrayed the whole correspondence to the Duke, was removed from Brunswick, and has not since been heard of. After this the Princess had two governesses attached to her who always appeared with her in public and were instructed never to lose sight of her. I saw enough of her at Brunswick to feel little surprise at her subsequent conduct in England and in Italy. Nor have I ever had the least doubt of the truth of the charges which were alleged against her.

[1] This is the first date given in the Diary.

There were two other Courts at Brunswick—that of the Duchess Dowager, sister to the great Frederick—and that of Prince Ferdinand, the hero of Minden.

After remaining nine months at Brunswick I was recalled to England to join my regiment (the 40th) which was ordered for service in the expectation of a war with Spain. The differences between the two countries having, however, been settled amicably, I procured a further leave of absence and went abroad again to Brussels where Colonel Gardiner (a friend of my mother) was residing as British Minister.

1790.—Brussels was at that time the resort of many French emigrants, the élite of the society at Paris, at that period perhaps the best society Europe could produce. I lived much with the French, and was a witness to their joy when they first heard of the King's[1] escape from Paris and subsequently to their despair when the intelligence reached Brussels of his recapture.

1791.—From Brussels I went to Spa to visit my brother, Lord Mornington,[2] and it was there settled that I should enter the Diplomatic line.

I returned to Brussels and from thence went to the Hague where I resided six months as an attaché to the British Embassy. Lord Henry Spencer was then acting as Minister in the absence of Lord Auckland, the Ambassador.

After remaining six months at the Hague I received the appointment of Secretary of Legation to the Court of Sweden, and travelled to Berlin with William Eliot (now Lord St. Germains) appointed to reside in the same capacity at Berlin.

After remaining six weeks at Berlin, during which period I was presented to the King and had an opportunity of being present at the Prussian reviews, I proceeded on my journey to Stockholm.

1792.—I reached Stockholm soon after the assassination[3] by Ankarstroem of the King Gustavus III at a masked ball at the Opera House. Mr. Liston, our Minister at Stockholm, often spoke

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[1] Louis XVI. [2] Afterwards Marquis Wellesley.

[3] On March 16, 1792. Count Ankarstroem, with other noblemen, formed a conspiracy against the King, who had incurred their hatred by depriving them of their ancient privileges.

with admiration of the magnanimity displayed by the King upon this occasion. As soon as he could be removed to his own apartment at the Opera House he sent for all the foreign Ministers, and although suffering from extreme pain from his wound conversed with them as to the motives which could have led to this atrocious crime as well as to the consequences which might be expected to come from it. He himself attributed it to the Jacobin Government of France which had agents at Stockholm. There were some grounds for the conjecture, considering that he had been more active than any other Sovereign in exciting the different Powers of Europe to make war upon France, and was to have commanded one of the armies intended to march out against her. Upon his wound being examined, it was found that the pistol had been loaded with a ball wrapped in greasy leather and several crooked rusty nails, the whole of which charge was extracted from his body. He lingered for several days in great agony, but conducted himself throughout with the same degree of resolution which he had displayed from the first. Previous to going to the ball, he received an anonymous letter apprising him of a design upon his life and advising him to avoid the masquerade, but he neglected this as he had done intimations of a similar kind upon various other occasions. Ankarstroem was arrested the following morning, having been discovered by means of the pistol which he dropped in the Opera House after the crime had been committed, and which, upon being carried to the maker whose name was engraved upon it, was ascertained to be his (Ankarstroem's) property. He was tried, convicted and executed, and his body was hanging in quarters at a short distance from Stockholm at the time of my arrival.

Gustavus IV succeeded to the throne, but being not more than fourteen years of age the Regency upon the King's death devolved upon his brother, the Duke of Sudermania. This Prince was entirely governed by the Baron de Renterholm who was of the sect of Illuminés and a great admirer of the French Revolution, and the disposition shown by the new Government to screen and favour the accomplices of Ankarstroem in the King's murder was viewed with disgust and indignation not only in Sweden but throughout Europe. The first to complain was the Court of Russia. This Court was well represented by the Count Stockeberg, who for more than twenty years had resided in Poland where the whole power of the State was in his hands, the King submitting to his dictation in all things. He

was supported by all the late King's friends and favourites, such as Arenfaldt, Fessen, etc., who were now in disgrace with the new Government. Stockeberg continued at Stockholm until after the murder of Louis XVI. He was then recalled, the Empress[1] finding that the Duke of Sudermania could not be induced to adopt the same line of policy as the Court of Russia with respect to the proceedings in France.

1793.—A few months after I had entered upon the functions of Secretary of Legation Mr. Liston went home upon leave of absence and I remained at Stockholm as British Chargé d'Affaires. This situation I held for a year and a half when I was obliged to return to England to join my regiment (the 1st Guards)[2] then ordered to Flanders. I travelled by land to Gothenburg and embarked in a Swedish vessel for England. Although it was the month of July we had very bad weather and were forced by contrary winds to put into a small port in Norway where we continued wind bound for several days. We had the same tempestuous weather during the whole passage, and whenever the state of the weather required greater efforts than usual the Captain and his crew, instead of exerting themselves, went to prayers, so that I was not sorry to bid adieu to the ship at Lowestoft, where I landed.

I lost no time in proceeding to my regiment in Flanders, and joined the army[3] when on its march to lay siege to Dunkirk. We remained before Dunkirk about a fortnight, and were then compelled, in consequence of the defeat of the covering army at Hondscotte, to abandon the siege (September 7) leaving all our heavy artillery and stores behind us. Had we been attacked in our retreat we must have lost half our army, but we were unaccountably suffered to retire unmolested, and for neglecting to attack us General Houchard, the Commander of the French forces, was afterwards guillotined.

1794.—I remained only a few months with the Army, having been promoted to another battalion in England. I continued for some months doing the London duty, and in the month of February, 1794, obtained leave of absence to go to Lisbon to bring home my

[1] Catharine the Great.
[2] Wellesley had exchanged from the 40th Foot into the First Foot Guards in April, 1791.
[3] A force of 40,000 men under the Duke of York.

sister Lady Anne Fitzroy whose husband Mr. Fitzroy had died at Lisbon of a consumption. We had a quick passage to Lisbon where I continued about ten days, and then embarked for England with my sister in the Expedition Packet. We had been at sea about three weeks and were within twelve hours sail of Falmouth when, at daylight on the morning of April 23, we discovered a large frigate, apparently French, in chase of us. We had every prospect, however, of escaping, when we were met by another frigate coming from the land with English colours flying and surrounded by several smaller vessels. This we of course took for an English man-of-war with her convoy, but before coming within hail she hauled down her English colours and hoisted the French tricolour flag, and although we immediately surrendered to this superior force she poured a broadside into us which luckily passed through the sails and did not injure anybody on board. She proved to be the *Thamar*, French frigate, and had captured all the vessels which we had taken for her convoy within two or three hours' sail of our coast.

The frigate which had chased us all the morning, after witnessing our capture, headed off and pursued another course.

On the very day we were taken Sir John Warren had an engagement with a squadron of French frigates off Morlaix, and captured three or four of them.

We were suffered to remain on board the prize, and were at sea six days after the capture without meeting with any of our own cruisers.

On the sixth day we were carried into Brest. There we found a fleet of thirty sail of the line, completely equipped and ready for sea—the very fleet which was afterwards defeated on June 1 of the same year, by Lord Howe. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of the crews of the different ships. Every evening at sunset they assembled on deck and sang the Marseilles hymn. I believe they fully reckoned on defeating the English fleet whenever they should encounter it.

We were detained on board for two days after our arrival in Brest harbour. When landing on the third day we were immediately carried before the Représentant du Peuple, Jean Bon St. André, one of the most ardent adherents of Robespierre, who afforded us at the very outset of our captivity a thorough specimen of revolutionary brutality.

Lady Anne Culling Smith and her daughters.

From the picture by Hoppner in the Collection of the Duke of Wellington.

We were ushered into a large room full of people, apparently officers of the Army and Navy, and some with tricolour sashes, probably belonging to the Municipality of Brest. The Représentant himself was sitting on a kind of tribune raised about two feet from the ground. As soon as we entered (addressing himself principally to my sister) he began a violent attack on the King and Mr. Pitt, styling them "votre George et votre Pitt que vous adorez tous à genoux." After indulging in this strain for some time, alluding frequently to the King's iniquity, he concluded by saying that England was on the verge of ruin, "car George est un imbécile et Pitt est un scélérat." He then dismissed us, saying that we should of course be treated with all the humanity for which the French nation was so justly celebrated.

This speech, addressed to a young woman by a man of good education and one of the highest functionaries of the Republic, affords a good specimen of Republican taste and feeling.

This Jean Bon St. André embarked afterwards on the Fleet, was present at the battle of June 1, and is said to have disappeared during the action until he was required by the Admiral to come up on deck, as he was there as a representative of the People to see that the Commander and the officers of the Fleet did their duty.[1]

From this interview we were conveyed to the town, where we were placed in surveillance with a sentry at the door, for two days. We were then conveyed in a carriage, at our own expense, to Quimper, a town about fifty miles from Brest, where there was a depôt of English prisoners. We were lodged in a house opposite the English prison, but although we were merely passengers on the packet, we were not suffered to be on our parole. We were, in

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[1] The following lines which appeared in Canning's "Anti-Jacobin" refer to this incident:

FROM CANNING'S *Anti-Jacobin.*

No story half so shocking
By kitchen fire or laundry
Was ever heard tell
As that which befel
The great *Jean Bon St. André.*

Poor John was a gallant captain,
In battles much delighting;
He fled full soon
On the first of June—
But he bade the rest keep fighting.

fact, under the same restraint as the common prisoners, were never suffered to go out without leave, and when we did go out were always accompanied by a guard.

It is impossible to describe the inconvenience and anxiety which we suffered from the capricious tyranny of some of the Commissioners of the prison during the nine months of our confinement. At one time they threatened to remove us to the common prison, and went so far as to compel me to go and choose a room there in which we were to be confined, and that at a time when, owing to the shocking treatment of the prisoners, a jail fever was raging which in the course of six months, out of three thousand, consigned more than half that number to the grave. There was a large garden belonging to the prison (which had once been a convent) where we were suffered to walk (I believe at the caprice of the sentry), but occasionally only, and in a certain part of the garden. I happened to be one day walking with a Mr. Williamson, a brother of Sir Hedworth Williamson, who was stone deaf. The sentry halloed to us not to go beyond a certain part of the garden. Mr. Williamson, not hearing him, walked on. The sentry levelled his piece at him, and if I had not run forward and halloed that he was deaf, would certainly have shot him. Williamson, as soon as he became aware of his danger, went home and made his will, saying that after such an occurrence his life was not safe for a moment.

A short time previous to our capture, Robespierre, in the name of the French Republic, had formally acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Being, and a wooden temple was erected upon a hill near Quimper and dedicated to the Supreme Being with the following inscription: "A l'Être Suprême! Protège tes adorateurs ; point de Patrie, point de Liberté, sans Toi. Les cieux attestent ta gloire, la France la reconnoit."

At length, some months after the fall of Robespierre, the Convention passed a decree for setting the women who were prisoners at liberty. I obtained permission to accompany my sister to Landernau, a town communicating with Brest Water by a river, where she was to embark for England on board an American vessel. The American captain, being at Landernau, offered to take me into his ship as he said the embargo which had been laid upon all vessels in Brest Harbour upon the sailing of the French Fleet would be taken off, and he should put to sea in a few hours after we had got on board. I was compelled to decline this offer, being

upon my parole for the period of my absence from Quimper, but told him that I would return to Quimper, and after delivering myself up to the authorities there, endeavour to make my escape and join him on the following night.

I should mention that we were accompanied to Landernau by Mr. Delaunay (by birth a Frenchman, who had been naturalised in England) and his wife, who were taken with us in the Lisbon Packet, and his wife was of course set at liberty by the decree of the Convention. Mr. Delaunay and I returned to Quimper that night with the intention of delivering ourselves up to the authorities and making our escape on the following morning.

Upon our arrival at Quimper we announced our return to the authorities, and on the following morning Mr. Delaunay and I went out with the person who was appointed to *surveiller* us, and to accompany us in all our walks. We then informed him of our intention, gave him a large sum in *assignats*, and he suffered us to proceed without him. We had no passports, and determined, if questioned, to pass for Americans proceeding to our ship in Brest Water. We had to walk four leagues before coming to any town. Upon our arrival at the town, the name of which I forget, we were alarmed by the appearance of two or three *gendarmes*; fortunately they took no notice of us, and we hired horses to proceed on our journey to Lavran, a small seaport communicating with Brest Water, where the American captain promised to be ready with a boat to take us off. We reached Lavran after dark, and thinking that we should certainly find the captain upon the beach, we tied our horses to a post and proceeded at once to the seashore, but to our great disappointment no boat was to be seen. We then returned to the town and walked about the streets, but thinking we were observed we resolved to go into an inn and ask for some refreshments. For this purpose we entered an inn and were shown into a room where a table d'hôte was spread and several persons in uniform (some, officers belonging to the Coast Guard, others connected with the Municipality of the town) were waiting to sit down to supper. We asked for some refreshment, and were told by the innkeeper that we might sit at the table d'hôte. In a few minutes supper appeared, and we sat down with a set of people any one of whom might have detected us by asking for our passports. I sat next to an officer who had served on board the *Résolue* frigate in the action with Sir John Warren, which happened on the very day we

were taken, and he gave a detailed account of the action, and appeared to know he was talking to an Englishman. Our situation was far from agreeable, when at last Mr. Delaunay (to my great surprise) asked the master of the house if we could have beds. He immediately rose and showed us to a bedroom.

When we were alone I asked Delaunay whether he really meant to pass the night there, for it appeared to me that our escape must certainly by that time have been discovered, and we should be pursued and taken in our beds. He replied that he considered our case desperate, but he thought our only chance of escape was by confiding in the landlord. He accordingly called the landlord and opened to him our situation. We told him that we had not been taken with swords in our hands, but were merely passengers on our voyage from Lisbon to England, that we were separated from the females of our family, who had been set at liberty by a decree of the Convention. That we threw ourselves upon his mercy and hoped he would not betray us. He replied that we had nothing to fear from him, that he had been the means of saving many emigrants and others from the sanguinary government of Robespierre, and that he was willing to do all in his power to assist us. He advised us to go out at his back door, which was not far from the beach, and ascertain if the boat was arrived. If not, we might return to his house, and he would conceal us as long as he could. We accordingly went down to the beach, but no boat appearing, we returned to the house.

All the persons who supped at the table d'hôte had already left the house, and we sat with the landlord until two in the morning, when the American captain arrived with his boat. We immediately embarked, but not before I had given the landlord all the gold I possessed, amounting to ten guineas, which, when changed into *assignats*, would produce a large sum, probably four or five thousand francs.

We found my sister and Mrs. Delaunay on board the American ship, but to our great dismay the embargo had not been taken off. After remaining in the ship two or three days, the captain came to me and said that he was very uneasy at the continuance of the embargo, for that if his ship were to be searched and I to be found on board, both ship and cargo would be confiscated and my sister probably detained for having connived at my escape. I asked him what he would have me do, adding that if he had not assured me

that the embargo would be taken off I certainly should not have attempted to escape. He said that he knew but one way of getting out of the difficulty, and that was by making the passage in an open boat, which he could not say would not be attended with some risk. That there was a very good strong boat belonging to a Swedish merchantman lying alongside of him which the captain was willing to sell for eighty guineas. Three English sailors who had made their escape from different prisons in Brest, expecting, like me, that the embargo would be taken off, might easily be persuaded to man the boat, and that he would recommend our making the attempt that night. I said that if no safer means of getting away could be provided or if we could not remain on board his ship without incurring the hazards he had mentioned, I would incur any danger rather than return to prison, where I was sure I should be most inhumanly treated. I accordingly agreed to purchase the boat; sailors were collected at dusk from the different vessels in the harbour to the number of twelve, including two or three masters of English merchant vessels which had been taken.

1795.—My sister was made to believe that there was no danger attending the enterprise, and we embarked to the number of fourteen (including Mr. Delaunay and myself) about eight o'clock, p.m., the 11th of January, 1795, on a cold and frosty night of one of the hardest winters which had been known for many years. I should add that just before we embarked the American captain put into my hands some letters addressed to Mr. Pitt which he said were of great importance, and I believe that his anxiety for the departure of the boat was partly owing to his wish that Mr. Pitt should receive these papers without delay.

I confess I had no expectation that our attempt would not soon be frustrated, for we had to pass a narrow passage of two or three miles, called the Goulet, which leads from the river into Brest Water, and which, besides being lined on each side by batteries, was defended by several guard-ships.

We luckily had a man stationed at the head of the boat who could distinguish objects at a great distance notwithstanding the darkness, so that we were enabled in some measure to keep clear of the guard-ships. Nevertheless our escape through this passage considering all the difficulties we had to encounter is really wonderful. At last we got into the open sea, and then began our distresses.

Our boat was twenty-three feet long and two and a half feet deep. The sea was running very high, and before we had proceeded many miles we were all completely wet through owing to the seas we shipped. About twelve o'clock the man who had been so useful to us in our passage through the Goulet unfortunately fell overboard and was drowned, notwithstanding all our efforts to save him, in attempting which we were very near swamping the boat, when all must have perished. This accident caused a damp upon our spirits and we passed a miserable night. We were, however, enabled to steer our course, and in the morning the coast of France was no longer visible. The cold, however, was intense, and in the morning one of the men died, and towards nightfall two more perished.

Our situation was now extremely precarious. We had not obtained a sight of the English coast, the sea and the wind had risen, the former to such a degree that in order to avoid being swamped we were obliged to steer by the sea and not to pursue a direct course. Luckily one of the masters on board had been connected with smugglers and perfectly understood the management of a boat in heavy seas and bad weather; had not this man been with us we must all have perished, if not from cold and from hunger, for the few provisions we had on board were spoiled by the wet.

At length, after three or four hours of great misery and danger, about midnight, we made a high point of land. The smuggler, upon seeing it, said he knew the land perfectly, that it was the Deadman, and that if we would leave the management of the boat to him he would bring us into a port in half an hour. The others (some of whom were half drunk with brandy) disputed with him, saying that if the land was the Deadman, there was no port nearer than Falmouth, and that we ought immediately to bear away for that port. He answered that to make Falmouth would require several hours, and that according to all appearances no man but himself would reach it alive, and I being convinced that we already owed our lives to his skill and dexterity, interfered and declared that the boat belonged to me, and that I gave him the entire command of it.

We had been all night under a close-reefed foresail, but the water being now smoother in consequence of our being under the land, he wished to carry more sail but could not get any of the

men to assist him. I was therefore obliged to take the helm while he went forward and shook out the reefs. He then resumed the helm and fulfilled his promise by bringing us into the small port of Mevagissey in less than half an hour. It happened that this was the place of his birth and that his wife and father-in-law kept a public house there.

Immediately therefore upon our coming to a sort of jetty, he jumped out of the boat and ran to get assistance, for scarcely one of us was able to move. Upon knocking at the door of his father's house, he was desired to state his name and business. He said he was Brockensha, and recognising his wife's voice, desired her to come to him—but she refused, alleging that Brockensha was either on a distant voyage or had been taken prisoner. At length she was prevailed upon to open the door, but the moment she beheld him pale and dripping wet, she threw down the candle and ran into the house crying out that she had seen her husband's ghost. He, however, followed her into the house, and after showing that he was no ghost, procured the assistance we required.

Two of the masters had quite lost their senses, and while hot gin and water was pouring down their throats, said they should die unless something hot was given them to drink. I got into bed between the blankets, and Mr. Delaunay did the same.

The next day, after burying the three men who had died in the boat, Mr. Delaunay and I set out in a post-chaise for London. I suffered extreme pain from my feet, which were nearly frost-bitten, and on my arrival in London could not put my feet to the ground, and continued for three months in that state, the medical people assuring me that I might consider myself extremely fortunate if I recovered the use of my limbs.

Of course I did not forget our rescuer. I was fortunate enough to get him made master of a frigate, in which situation he continued for several years and behaved extremely well. Subsequently, when he was discharged from his ship, Lord Maryborough[1] (who was then Clerk of the Ordnance) gave him a situation of three hundred a year, which he held until Lord Maryborough was obliged to deprive him of it on account of his propensity to drunkenness. I afterwards procured him the command of a store ship, but

[1] Henry Wellesley's brother—William Wellesley Pole. He had taken the additional name of Pole on succeeding to the estates of his cousin, William Pole, of Ballyfinn, in Ireland, in 1778. He was created Baron Maryborough in 1821.

when he went to receive his command from Sir Thomas Thompson (then Comptroller of the Navy) he was so drunk that Sir Thomas Thompson turned him out of his room and was not sparing in his reproaches to me for having recommended such a person to him. Since that time I have occasionally provided him with money, but his propensity to drinking has made it impossible to place him in any employment, and I believe he now resides at Devonport.

During my confinement in France, as I had before determined to make the Diplomatic line my profession, my commission in the Guards was sold.

1796.—Towards the beginning of the year 1796 Lord Grenville, who was then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, appointed me to the situation of Précis Writer in the Foreign Office, a situation at that period more confidential than I believe it is at present.

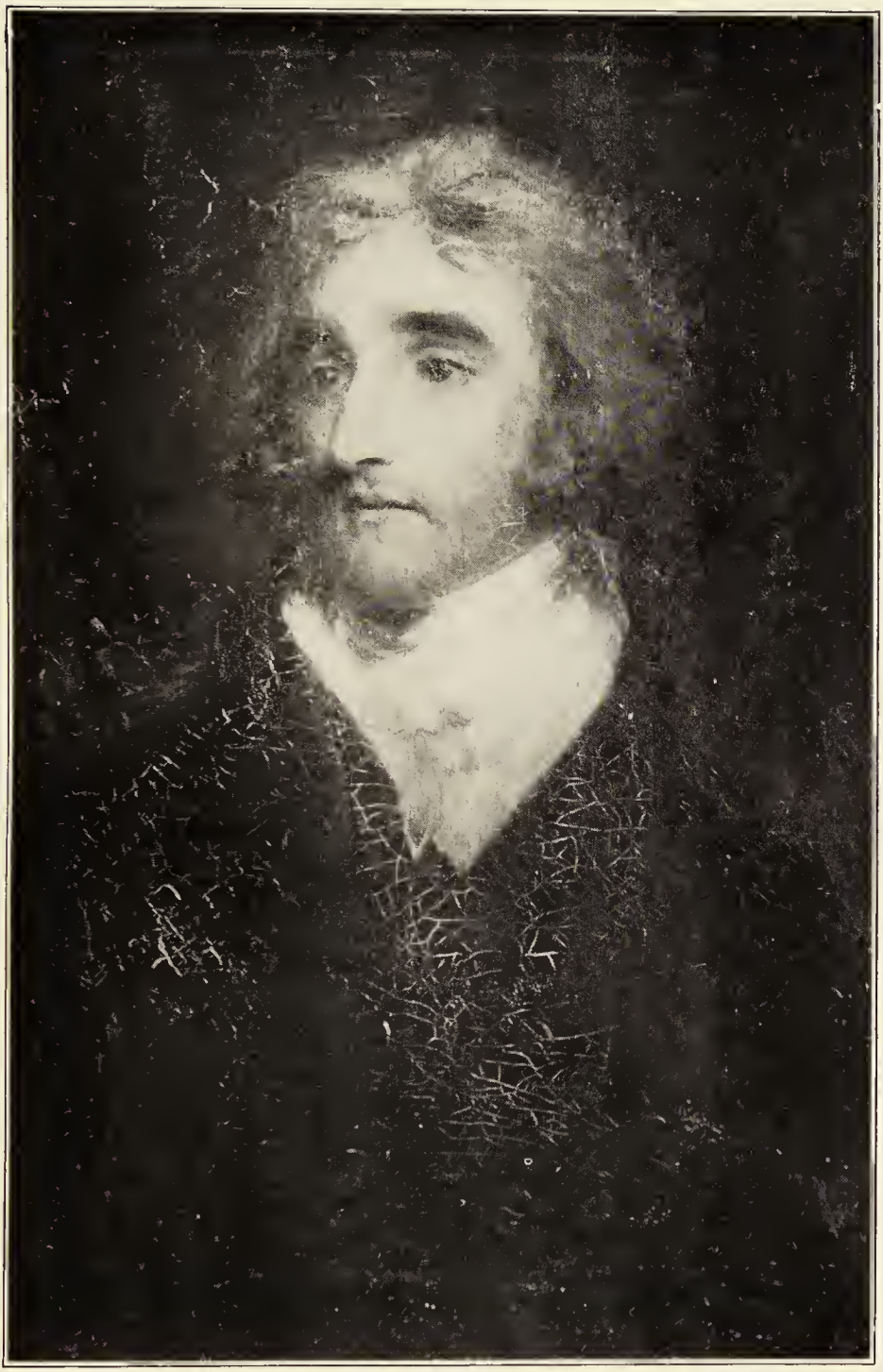
1797.—I remained in this situation nearly a year and a half and in July, 1797, was appointed Secretary to Lord Malmesbury's Embassy when he went to Lille to negociate a peace with the French Directory. The other persons who accompanied Lord Malmesbury were Lord Morpeth, now Lord Carlisle, Lord Grenville,[1] at present Ambassador at Paris, the late Mr. George Ellis and Mr. Ross, the private secretary. The French plenipotentiaries were Letourneur, Pléville le Peley and Colcher; and Hughes B. Macet, afterwards Duc de Bassano, was the secretary.

We had a sort of under plot which was carried on between George Ellis and M. Fain, an agent of Barthélemy's who was the only member of the Directory who was anxious for peace.

Lord Malmesbury's negociations, although conducted with great ability, afforded no hope of a successful termination; our hopes rested more with the efforts of Barthélemy at Paris, but these were soon put an end to by a fresh revolution at Paris which terminated by the deportation of Barthélemy and many of his friends and adherents. Most of the Directors were changed, Letourneur and his associates were recalled from Lille and two violent partisans of the war faction were sent to conduct the negociations which were very soon put an end to, it being evidently the wish of the new French authorities to continue the war.

During the period of the negociations I came to England to

[1] Or *Granville*—probably first Earl. He was Ambassador to Paris, 1824-41.



William Wellesley, 1st Baron Maryborough, subsequently 3rd Earl of Mornington.

From the picture by Hoppner in the Collection of the Duke of Wellington.

communicate with Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville,[1] and to appraise them of conversations relating to the negociations which it was not safe to commit to paper. I returned to Lille, but came home before Lord Malmesbury in order to prepare to accompany Lord Wellesley to India who had been appointed Governor-General of our possessions there.

We left London to embark for India on the 5th of November, 1797, arrived at Cowes on the same day and embarked on the following day on board the Virginia frigate *Captain Kent*. This frigate was one of the finest in the service, but she was low in the water and was overmasted. We were, besides, much inconvenienced for want of room—for in addition to Lord Wellesley, his suite, carriages, baggage, etc., Sir Hugh Christian was to proceed in her to take the command of the squadron at the Cape of Good Hope, and he had several officers with him so that the ship was in a most crowded condition.

We had bad weather in crossing the Bay of Biscay, and were not sorry to arrive at Madeira where we landed and where we continued several days, the ship having been compelled to put to sea, the roadstead being dangerous in certain winds. We passed our time very agreeably in exploring the island which is beautiful, covered with orange trees, geraniums, myrtles, etc., growing in the open air.

After remaining there several days, the ship returned to her anchorage and we again embarked. Nothing remarkable occurred in our voyage to the Cape excepting that we had a gale of wind for three days during which the ship laboured much owing to her being overmasted. The day before we reached Table Bay we were chased by a squadron of men-of-war, which as we could not make out their private signal, we apprehended to be French, and our best sailing was without result, they gaining upon us considerably. We cleared for action, but without any hope of being able to hold out long against so superior a force. Upon their approaching us, however, they proved to be the Cape Squadron out upon a cruise.

We anchored next evening in Table Bay, and on the following morning Mr. Barnard, the Secretary to the Government, came on board, and we immediately landed and waited upon Lord Macartney, the Governor, with whom we dined that day.

[1] Foreign Secretary in Pitt's Ministry, 1791-1801.

We took up our abode with Mr. Barnard at the Castle, and passed five or six weeks very agreeably with him, Lady Anne[1] and Miss Barnard.

During this period great alterations were made in the ship—the masts were reduced and a cabin was built upon deck for Lord Wellesley, so that having deposited Sir Hugh Christian at the Cape the remainder of our voyage was made in much greater comfort. The time passed at the Cape was not misspent, for we met there Colonel Kirkpatrick, an officer who had spent the greater part of his life in India, and who was intimately acquainted with the politics of the different Native Courts, at some of which he had resided as British Agent. Lord Wellesley therefore prepared at the Cape several of his plans with respect to the Native Powers, particularly those which related to the Nizam's Government at Hyderabad.

Nothing can be more delightful and more healthy than the climate of the Cape, so healthy that as wine was to be procured in great abundance and at a very cheap rate, the soldiers were often drunk and lay upon the ground in the open air all night without their health being at all affected. The fruit is the finest I ever saw, particularly the peaches and grapes, and upon the whole I thought it a delightful residence.

Our next station was Madras where Lord Wellesley had some pressing transactions to settle between the East India Company[2] and the Nabob of Arcot, and where we remained for a week. We again embarked and in five days reached the sand banks of the Hoogly. There we left the frigate and went on board the Company's yacht—and on the following day (May 17th, 1798) we landed at Calcutta.

[1] Before her marriage Lady Anne Lindsay and author of the ballad "Auld Robin Gray."

[2] The first charter to the English East India Company was granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1600, its full title being: "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies."

A formidable rival company was formed in 1698, known as the "English Company"; but in 1709 the two companies were amalgamated with the title: "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies."

In 1772 the affairs of the Company were brought before Parliament and many abuses exposed. As a result of this inquiry many important changes were made in the constitution of the company and its relations to India. The Governor-General was appointed to reside in Bengal; a Supreme Court of Judicature was established at Calcutta; the affairs of the company were placed under control; the departments were reorganised and the territorial correspondence ordered to be laid before the British Ministry. Twelve years later the Board of Control was appointed by Pitt.

After the Mutiny of 1857 the government of India was transferred to the Crown, the Board of Control was abolished and a Council of State for India instituted by an Act of 1858. The Company was dissolved June 1, 1874. [Editor.]

1798.—It is not my intention to speak in detail of any of the transactions of Lord Wellesley's government in India, since an account of them is already in print, and he himself is at present engaged in preparing for the Press all his despatches and minutes so as to afford a complete view of his administration. I shall only therefore briefly notice those transactions in which I was personally engaged.

Lord Wellesley's early attention was directed to the state of our relations with the native Powers of India, particularly of those with the Nizam which had been so much neglected that prompt and vigorous measures were required for the purpose of re-establishing our influence at the Court of Hyderabad. The Nizam had taken into his service a formidable force consisting of Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, commanded by French officers. Attached to this force was a cannon foundry, with everything required for maintaining it in a state of complete efficiency. Lord Wellesley's object, therefore, (for the means of effecting which he had prepared himself at the Cape in his conversations with Colonel Kirkpatrick) was to prevail upon the Nizam to disband this force and to receive a British subsidiary force in its room. This was effected after a tedious and difficult negociation, and the French force disbanded without bloodshed and the officers, after being indemnified by the Nizam, were required to embark for Europe.

1799.—This important measure was scarcely effected when the hostile designs of Tippoo towards the Company and his proposals with that view to the French Government were made apparent by a proclamation issued at the Mauritius by the Governor-General of the French possessions—Monsieur Malartic. Lord Wellesley immediately saw the necessity of preparing for a contest with Tippoo and wrote to Madras directing that no time should be lost in making the requisite preparations. In the month of January, 1799, he embarked for Madras for the purpose of being near the seat of war in the event of hostilities taking place—and, the explanations of Tippoo not being satisfactory, that war commenced which terminated in the capture of Seringapatam, the death of Tippoo and the submission of the whole of Mysore to the British arms.

The whole country being thus at the disposal of the Company, Lord Wellesley, after much deliberation, determined

upon replacing upon the throne the descendant of the Hindoo Sovereign who had been dethroned by Hyder Ali, and with a view to making the necessary arrangements for this purpose he appointed a Commission, the members of which were General Norris, Colonel Wellesley,[1] Mr. H. Wellesley, Colonel Kirkpatrick and Colonel Close.

After some preliminary arrangements the Commission proceeded to the residence of the new Sovereign, a boy of five years old, at Seringapatam, for the purpose of announcing the resolution of the Governor-General.

They found him with a part of his family and one or two attendants seated in a kind of stable which, with one or two sheds attached to it, was the residence allotted to him by Tippoo. In a few days afterwards the ceremony of placing him on the throne was performed by the British Commissioners in the presence of Meer Allum, the Nizam's Minister.

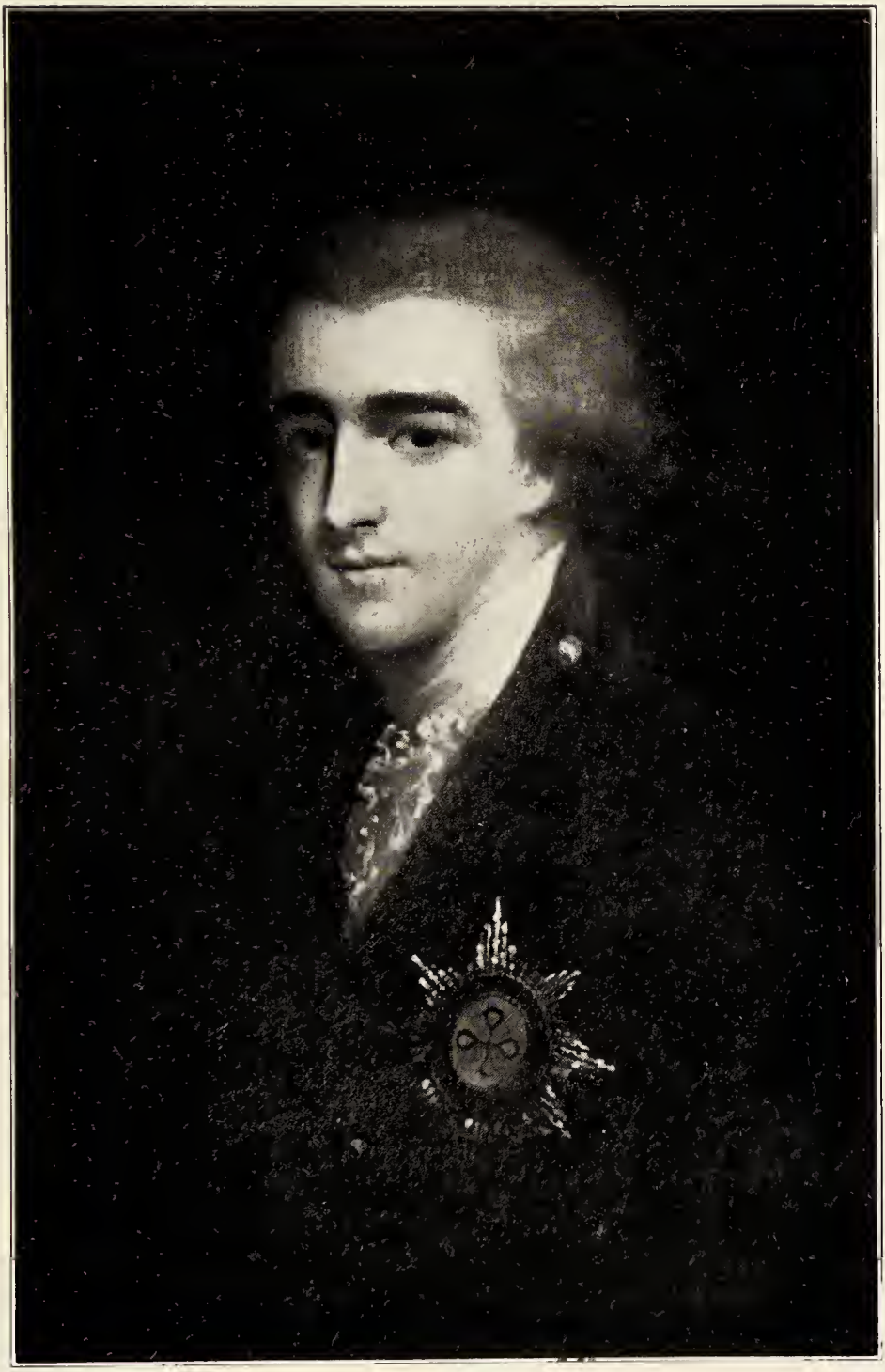
The measure adopted by the Governor-General was viewed with the greatest satisfaction by the people of the country, who were thus relieved from the oppressive tryanny to which they had been subjected under Tippoo, and enjoyed the benefits of that mild system which we introduced under British agents. A Hindoo of great talents and experience was appointed Minister to the new Rajah of Mysore.

The labours of the Commission having terminated with the restoration of the Rajah, I returned to Madras.

During the preparations for the war with Tippoo, Lord Wellesley experienced great inconvenience from the limited nature of his powers with respect to the Army. He also was of opinion that the Governor-General ought to be entrusted with some kind of authority over the Navy. He was also desirous of sending somebody to England for the purpose of communicating with Mr. Dundas [2] upon various points relative to India, and upon my return to Madras he determined upon charging me with this commission. I accordingly embarked towards the end of August in the Cornwallis, a ship taken up for the purpose. The other passengers were Colonel Beatson who afterwards published a narrative of the war with Tippoo, Colonel Allen, Captain Harris, eldest son of Lord

[1] Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington.

[2] Henry Dundas, first Lord Melville. He was at that time Secretary of War and Treasurer of the Navy.



Richard Wellesley, Marquess Wellesley, K.G.

From the picture attributed to Gainsborough Dupont in the Collection of the Duke of Wellington.

Harris, and Mr. Conolly, a physician on the Madras Establishment. We sailed in company with the East India Fleet, but separated from them in the passage. We touched at the Cape, where we remained a few days, and also at St. Helena, and about the middle of December made the coast of Ireland and anchored in Cork harbour.

The naval commander upon the station, upon my representing that I was charged with important despatches for the Government, gave me a cutter to proceed to Bristol. After a most stormy passage of thirty hours we reached Bristol, and I immediately proceeded to London.

Both the Government and the Court of Directors were loud in their commendations of Lord Wellesley's proceedings in India, though I had then the opportunity of remarking what further observation has abundantly confirmed, that military successes, and indeed proceedings of all kinds in India, however important and advantageous, produce but little effect in England.

All Sir Arthur Wellesley's and Lord Lake's victories over the Mahrattahs, with the important consequences which resulted from them, were less considered than the battle of Maida.[1] It is the same with all diplomatic negociations in India, though their results, as is usually the case, may be more important to the Mother Country than those of any of her negociations in Europe.

1800. Upon my arrival in London I waited upon Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas, my business being chiefly with the latter, with whom, during nearly a twelvemonth that I was kept in England, I had frequent communications upon the business with which I was charged by Lord Wellesley. I succeeded in obtaining for the Governor-General a commission of Captain-General which gave him a complete control over the Army, but Mr. Dundas' efforts to obtain for him a similar control over the Naval Department in India were ineffectual, and it was likely to be so unpopular in the Navy that it was judged advisable to give it up. There were several other minor points which were agreed to by the Court of Directors, and having completed my business in England in the month of October, 1880, I again embarked for India in the Georgianic Company's Packet.

[1] Maida (Calabria) where the French under General Régnier were defeated by the British under Sir John Stuart, July 4, 1806.

I have reason to believe that had Mr. Dundas continued in office I should have been appointed Governor of Madras upon the resignation of Lord Clive, or Governor of the Cape of Good Hope in the event of a vacancy taking place.

Upon our passage out we touched at the Cape of Good Hope, and upon sailing again, owing to some form omitted by the Captain, were recalled by signal from the Admiral, and a fog coming on we ran on shore. It happened to be moderate weather, otherwise the ship would inevitably have been lost. As it was she sustained but little damage and pursued her voyage on the following day.

1801.—After a tolerable passage we reached the Sand Heads of the Hoogly in January, 1801, and I went up the river in the Company's yacht and joined Lord Wellesley at Barrackpoor. I found that during my absence he had had his hands full of business—first, in preparing the Expedition to Egypt,[1] which afterwards sailed under the command of General Baird, and secondly, in a negociation with the Nabob of Oude which had not been successful. As this negociation was afterwards placed in my hands, I shall speak of it in some detail.

By a Treaty with the Nabobs of Oude, concluded, I believe, in the time of Lord Clive, the Company was bound to maintain a body of troops in the territory of Oude for the defence of that country, and districts were assigned the revenues of which were to be appropriated solely to the payment and maintenance of these troops, but, owing to the bad management and oppressive conduct of the Nabobs' collectors of the revenue, the districts assigned for the payment of the troops were gradually failing, and it frequently happened that the pay of the troops was several months in arrears which, in India, is often attended with the most serious consequences.

As it was considered to be essential to the security of both States from foreign attack that a large body of troops should be permanently stationed in Oude, and as one of the most important stipulations of the Treaty was providing for the regular payment of the troops, Lord Wellesley thought that the Company had a right to insist upon a cession in perpetuity of these districts, being convinced that under the superior management of the Company's

[1] Against the French.

agents they would soon be restored to their former prosperity and would furnish the supplies requisite for the maintenance of the troops. Lord Wellesley also considered that the proposed arrangement would relieve the Nabob from the pecuniary embarrassments to which he was frequently exposed from these districts being unequal to the supply of the necessary funds, when he was of course called upon to furnish the deficiency from his own treasury.

Colonel Scott, the resident at Lucknow, was accordingly instructed by the Governor-General to make overtures to the Nabob of Oude for the cession in question; and after a long negociation, purposely protracted by the Nabob, had entirely failed of success, the Nabob, when pressed for a decision, positively declining to come into the Governor-General's view and declaring that rather than cede any portion of his territory he would abdicate his throne.

All this happened while I was in England, but Lord Wellesley, sensible of the extreme importance of obtaining that cession, and aware that without it there would be no security for the maintenance of our military establishments in Oude, determined not to relinquish the project, and soon after my arrival at Calcutta sent me to Lucknow with instructions to renew the negociations with the Nabob in concert with Colonel Scott. The Governor-General thought that, as his brother, I would have greater advantages in carrying on this negociation than could be possessed by any other individual in India excepting himself, and this was, I believe, his principal reason for entrusting this important mission to me.

Upon my arrival at Lucknow I found that a coolness existed between the Vizier and the Resident, produced by their repeated altercations respecting the proposed cession. Colonel Scott, fancying that Mr. Ouseley (who was then residing at Lucknow and much in the confidence of the Vizier) had made use of his influence to prevent the Nabob from acceding to the views of the Governor-General, had ordered that gentleman to abstain from his visits to His Highness, which had much increased the ill-humour of the latter. This measure was so injudicious (as it was impossible to prevent Mr. Ouseley from seeing the Nabob secretly) that I felt it necessary immediately to take some steps in order that my own negociations might not be counteracted. I accordingly (with the concurrence of Colonel Scott) sent for Mr. Ouseley and told him that I was aware he lay under the suspicion of having advised theVizier not to accede to the wishes of the British Government, and had, in consequence,

been directed to abstain from his usual intercourse with him. That we were now about to renew the negociations for an arrangement which would in the course of a very short time prove to be fully as advantageous to the Vizier as to the Company. That I had no objection (in concurrence with Colonel Scott) to take off the interdict to his seeing the Nabob provided he would give me his word of honour that he would do nothing to impede the objects which we had in view, but that unless he would give me this assurance and observe it strictly, I should feel it to be my duty to recommend it to the Governor-General to remove him from Lucknow. He replied that he felt extremely obliged to me for (what he called) treating him like a gentleman, that he never had interfered in any way in Colonel Scott's proceedings with the Vizier, and that he could assure me that any little credit he had with His Highness should be exerted in promoting the views of the Governor-General.

Mr. Ouseley was at the time in partnership with an Indian merchant and also held the situation of Deputy-Postmaster for the Upper Provinces, the office of Postmaster for those provinces being always held by the Private Secretary to the Governor-General. I was therefore Postmaster, and had continued Mr. Ouseley in the situation of Deputy. He was therefore under some slight obligation to me. He was a man of considerable shrewdness, an excellent Persian scholar, and was well acquainted with the manners and habits of the natives of India, all of which strongly recommended him to the Vizier's favour, himself well versed in the languages and literature of the East, possessing an excellent understanding but who had rendered himself an object of contempt and dislike to all strict Musselmen [*sic*] by the vice of drinking which he carried to such an excess as frequently to be carried to his bed.

I shall not enter into the details of a tedious negociation protracted to several weeks during which the Nabob availed himself of every possible pretext to avoid coming to a conclusion, sometimes by endeavouring to separate me from Colonel Scott, his dislike of whom he never attempted to conceal, sometimes by announcing his resolution to abdicate, and once by a very *delicate* offer of a bribe which I treated as a joke. At length, after a thousand subterfuges, he gave his consent in no very gracious manner to the cession urged by the Governor-General, and a Treaty having before been prepared, was signed a few days afterwards by the Vizier on the one part and by myself and Colonel Scott on the other, the Vizier

taking good care to deliver the Treaty into my hands, and endeavouring in the most marked manner to show that he considered the Resident as having nothing to do in the business.

Having no further business at Lucknow I proceeded to join Lord Wellesley, who was on his way to the Upper Provinces, and I took leave of the Vizier with whom I parted on very cordial terms. Before my departure, however, he entreated me to solicit the Governor-General's consent to his appointing Mr. Ouseley his aide de camp, which was afterwards assented to by Lord Wellesley. This is the origin of Sir Gore Ouseley, who has since risen to be His Majesty's Ambassador in Persia, was employed in many important negociations previous to the peace of 1814, and is now living in England and in the enjoyment of a very large funded and landed property.

Upon my joining Lord Wellesley he informed me that he proposed to leave me in Oude for the purpose of superintending the settlement of the Provinces recently ceded by the Nabob. In order to assist me in this work, which was one of great responsibility, a selection was made of the most experienced and the best collectors in the service, who were appointed to the several districts ceded.

I took up my residence at Bareilly, the capital of the Province of Rohilkand as being by far the largest and in all respects the most important of the countries which had come into our possession.

For the first half-year nothing was required from the country beyond the fulfilment of the agreements entered into with the Nabob's Government, and in many cases the full amount of these was not exacted. The farmers, however, soon found the advantage of living under our mild system, free from the extortions and oppression to which they had before been subjected, and it is incredible how soon the country began to assume an appearance of greater prosperity.

1802.—In the following year, 1802, a new settlement was made upon the most liberal terms and to the general satisfaction of the farmers, the result of which was an annual increase of £500,000 a year to the Company. The proof that this agreement was advantageous to the farmers is contained in the fact that two years afterwards, during the war with the Mahrattahs, a Mahrattah force

passed through a great deal of the country, which was of course plundered, yet no attempt was made by the farmers to alter the settlement.

1803.—This business being concluded, my presence in Oude was no longer necessary, and indeed I was forced to leave it after a residence of two years, having been seized with a fever in consequence of living in tents at an unwholesome time of the year, which I had been obliged to do for the purpose of superintending a part of the settlement. I accordingly travelled by dhooly to Calcutta, and my fever state continuing, it was thought advisable that I should return to England.

I must not omit to mention that previously to leaving Bareilly I concluded another treaty with the Nabob of Farruckabad whose country (much in the same condition as that of the Nabob of Oude previous to the cession) was surrounded by our new acquisitions, and I found him very willing to accept a pension from the Company in lieu of a territory from which he derived little or nothing.

Previous to leaving Oude I had travelled north as far as Hardwar, a town then in the possession of the Mahrattahs but now belonging to us. It was situated on the Ganges not far from its source, and at Hardwar scarcely navigable for boats. The frontier of the ceded provinces terminated on the other side of the Ganges opposite to the Mahrattah country. Hardwar was a famous mart for all sorts of commodities from every part of India, and was also a place of religious worship for Hindoos so that it was the constant resort of fakeers of that religion. It was also a great horse fair. At the time we visited it, it was crowded with buyers and sellers of all descriptions as well as with devotees of every religious sect in India, whether Mahomedan or Hindoo. For several days before our arrival the country through which we passed, though very beautiful, had been suffered to run to waste, and was almost uninhabited excepting by tigers and other beasts of prey. We had several tiger hunts on the march, and killed six or eight of them. We had some native hunters attached to the camp, and it happened that two of these, while prowling about in search of game, came upon a litter of young tigers and were so foolish as to bring it away with them. They had not, however, proceeded far on their return to the camp when they were followed by the male and female tigers who immediately attacked them, tore one of them in a dreadful

manner across his breast, but contented themselves with carrying off their young without making any further attempt to molest the hunters. The man who was wounded was brought into camp and afterwards recovered. On this march, however, we lost three or four of the camp followers who, having pitched their tents too far from the camp, were carried off in the night by tigers.

With a view to future commercial advantages we determined to constitute an annual fair at the extremity of our frontier opposite to Hardwar, and arrangements were made for building a town there as well for commercial purposes as with a view of re-peopling this part of the country. All this answered perfectly. The town which is called Wellesley Gunge (in honour of Lord Wellesley) is full of inhabitants, and in a very few years the country was in as high a state of cultivation as any other part of the fertile Province of Rohilkand.[1]

Having, as I before stated, completed all the arrangements which had induced Lord Wellesley to appoint me to the superintendence of these provinces, and being in a very bad state of health, I returned to Calcutta, having previously received an address from all the Civil authorities acting under me expressing their regret at my departure and approving of everything which had been done under my superintendence.

Soon after my return to India from England, and while I was employed in Oude, intelligence was received of the resignation of Mr. Pitt, and the appointment of Mr. Addington to succeed him. This was followed by the Peace with Bonaparte, and I arrived at Calcutta just in time to be present at the magnificent fête given by the Governor-General to celebrate the peace. A short time afterwards, being still in a very bad state of health, I embarked for England in the Swallow Packet. I was very sorry to leave Lord Wellesley, who was just then making his preparations for the Mahrattah War, which afterwards terminated so gloriously and advantageously for the Company and in which Sir Arthur Wellesley and Lord Lake both bore so distinguished a part.

On our passage home we touched at St. Helena, and arrived in England in the month of June, 1803. On nearing the Channel we

[1] Lord Wellesley wrote to his son Richard, April 30, 1802.—. . . "You cannot imagine a more splendid or beautiful scene than my progress through the Upper Provinces. My brother Henry is now in the Government of our new acquisition. He has visited Agra and Hardwar (or the Cow's Mouth) in the course of settling the country."

were met by several vessels from which we received intelligence of the War having again broken out between England and France. We were chased for a whole night by a large frigate which fired upon us and obliged us to bring to, but luckily proved to be H.M.'s Ship the *Hussar*.

We at length arrived at Falmouth without meeting with an enemy's cruiser.

I shall conclude what I have to say respecting India (as far as I was personally concerned) by relating a circumstance which terminated unluckily for me.

It was thought by Lord Castlereagh (who was then President of the Board of Control) that my services in Oude entitled me to a reward from the Company, and it was settled between him and the Chairman of the Company and the Deputy-Chairman that I should receive ten thousand pounds as a reward for those services.

While this was going on some intercepted letters, among which was one from me to Lord Wellesley, were published by the French Government in retaliation of a similar publication of intercepted French letters from Egypt which had been made by our Government. My letter to Lord Wellesley contained some expressions disapproving the conduct of the Court of Directors with respect to his Government, but certainly not the expressions which are attributed to me in the letter published by the French Government in which I am made to say that " the Court of Directors were obstinate fools." I am also made to say that Mr. Addington spoke of Lord Wellesley in the most pompous and affectionate terms, which two epithets could not easily go together—cordial was probably the term I used. These mistakes may easily be accounted for when it is recollected, first, that my handwriting is not very legible, secondly, that the French are notorious for never copying English correctly, and thirdly, that my letter underwent two translations, first, from English incorrectly given into French, and secondly, from French into English. Nevertheless, the Chairman and Deputy told Lord Castlereagh that after this letter speaking so disrespectfully of the Court of Directors it would be useless to think of proposing any reward for me however meritorious my services might have been —and thus I lost ten thousand pounds and have nothing to console me but the reflection that I had been the instrument of adding a considerable territory to the Company's possessions with an increase of five hundred thousand pounds a year to their Revenue.

Hyacinthe Gabrielle Roland, Marchioness Wellesley, and her sons.
From the painting by Hoppner.

Upon my arrival in England in the summer of 1803 I found the whole country in arms in the expectation of an invasion which had been threatened by Bonaparte and for which the most formidable preparations were making at Boulogne and on other parts of the French coast. Most of our public men were of opinion that Bonaparte was serious in his intentions of invading this country and no one more so than Mr. Pitt, who, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, was at the head of a large Corps of Cinque Port fencibles, and being no longer in office gave much of his time to the equipment and discipline of that Corps. Bonaparte had assembled a very large force upon the coast which he called the Army of England, and had built and collected a vast quantity of flat-bottomed vessels intended for the transport of his army across the Channel.

Several attempts were made by Lord Nelson and others to destroy the shipping on the French coast, but without much success. At length, the French misunderstanding with Austria and Russia impelled the Emperor to withdraw his army from the coast and to abandon his designs upon England, which must have been severely mortifying to him, if indeed he had any serious intention of carrying his threats into execution.

1804.—Towards the beginning of 1804 Mr. Pitt returned to office, and I was appointed a Lord of the Treasury. After continuing in this situation for some months, Lord Normanby, who was Minister for Foreign Affairs, proposed to me to go to Spain as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in the room of Mr. Frere.[1] As I was anxious to return to the diplomatic profession I accepted this offer, but was prevented from going to Spain by the war which suddenly broke out between the two countries. I consequently lost both situations, for as soon as I accepted the foreign appointment I thought it right to resign my seat at the Treasury, which was immediately filled by another person.

1805.—The Continental War was, as usual, one continued career of success to the arms of France, and terminated with the Battle of Austerlitz. We as usual were triumphant at sea—the French Navy having been nearly annihilated at Trafalgar—the few ships which

[1] John Hookham Frere, a friend of Canning and contributor to *The Anti-Jacobin*. He was British Minister in Spain, 1808-9.

escaped from that battle having been subsequently captured by Sir Richard Strachan.

1806.—Mr. Pitt died early in the year 1806 at the age of forty-seven. It is supposed that the failure of the coalition upon the continent preyed much upon his mind, and contributed to hasten his end, but the truth is that he was entirely worn out by his constant attendance upon his parliamentary duties from a very early age, and from the unwholesome life which he led, seldom eating anything until the House had adjourned, which was frequently not before three or four o'clock in the morning.

Upon his death his party did not consider itself sufficiently strong to form a Government. It therefore fell to Lord Grenville, (who had refused to act with Mr. Pitt because the King declined to admit Mr. Fox into his administration) in conjunction with Mr. Fox, to form a Ministry. This was the Government which went under the designation of "All the Talents." The short year of its existence was a year of most remarkable failures in all its foreign enterprises—a failure in Egypt, a failure before Constantinople, and that most disgraceful failure at Buenos Ayres.[1] Mr. Fox, who held the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs with that of Leader of the House of Commons, died a few months after the formation of the Government, and was succeeded by Lord Howick in the Foreign Department and also in the conduct of the parliamentary business in the Lower House. Their continuance in office was not, however, of long duration. A difference arose between them and the King upon the question of Catholic emancipation; they tried, I believe, to deceive the King, but the result was their retiring from office—whether by the desire of the King or of their own free-will I do not at the moment recollect, but I rather believe that they were dismissed.

1807.—In March, 1807, a new administration was formed with the Duke of Portland as First Lord of the Treasury, Perceval Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons, Canning Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Castlereagh War

[1] The city was captured by General Beresford in conjunction with Sir Home Popham, in June, 1806. Beresford was subsequently forced to capitulate and was kept a prisoner for six months. Sir Home Popham was superseded and reprimanded by a court-martial.

Minister, and Lord Liverpool Secretary for the Home Department with the management of the House of Lords.

At the particular request of Perceval I took the situation of Secretary to the Treasury[1] jointly with Huskisson. I ought before to have mentioned that Lord Wellesley returned from India a short time previous to the death of Mr. Pitt, and had he (Pitt) lived, would no doubt have held a prominent office in his administration. Previous to his return Mr. Paul [Paull][2] commenced that series of charges against him which, had Mr. Pitt lived, would no doubt have been crushed (as they ought to have been) in the bud. They were, however, renewed with still greater violence at the meeting of the Parliament of 1806, and certainly very little pains were taken by Lord Grenville (the intimate friend of Lord Wellesley from his youth upwards) and his colleagues to put an end to this persecution. They suffered it, on the contrary, to run through the Session without bringing it to a decision. In the meantime Paul [Paull] died, and Lord Folkestone undertook to carry on the charges.

1808.—In 1808, however, they were finally put an end to most honourably for Lord Wellesley. As one of the charges related to the proceedings in Oude, I was called upon to speak, and I believe acquitted myself tolerably. This is the only time I ever spoke in Parliament, at least upon any important question ; for there are many occasions upon which a Secretary to the Treasury is called upon to say a few words.

One of the most important questions which occurred while I held the office of Secretary to the Treasury was that relating to Spain. The Deputies who came to England to announce the Spanish insurrection were received with open arms, and no time was lost in affording all possible succour in aid of the Spaniards against Bonaparte.

1809.—Early in the year 1809 I resigned my situation at the Treasury in consequence of a domestic occurrence.[3]

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[1] Wellesley was elected Member for Eye, in Suffolk, in 1807, and kept the seat until 1809.

[2] This Mr. Paull had made a fortune as a trader in India, where he had met and quarrelled with Lord Wellesley. On entering Parliament in 1805, he brought charges of maladministration in India against Lord Wellesley, but failed to obtain Government support.

[3] This is a reference to his divorce.

Our first efforts in Spain were by no means successful. Sir Arthur Wellesley's successes in Portugal were paralysed by the arrival of Sir Harry Burrard (sent to supercede Sir Arthur in the command) just at the close of the Battle of Vimiera. Sir Arthur proposed to move on with a part of his force which had not been engaged, by which movement the retreat of the French upon Lisbon would have been cut off and their whole force must have surrendered, but Sir Harry said that enough had been done and that he thought it more prudent to remain where they were. Upon this refusal to make the most of our victory Sir Arthur said to one of his friends: "Well, as nothing more is to be done I shall go and shoot red-legged partridges."

This opportunity being lost, the Convention of Cintra, so much condemned in England, followed.

It may be doubted, however, whether that was not as advantageous a result as could have been expected considering that the French were sufficient to make good their retreat to Lisbon, and were still in possession of the strong fortresses of Elvas and Almeida which were surrendered to the British under this Convention.

Sir Arthur Wellesley returned to England, and soon afterwards (Sir Harry Burrard and Sir H. Dalrymple being summoned to England to account for their conduct at a Court of Inquiry held at Chelsea) our Army entered Spain under the command of Sir John Moore. The unfortunate result of that expedition (though it closed with the glorious Battle of Corunna where Sir John Moore himself fell at the moment of victory) is too well known to require to be noticed here.

From the following passages from "The Creevey Papers" it will be seen that the Wellesleys were not at all popular among some of the politicians of the day:

Samuel Whitbread, M.P. to Mr. Creevy, September 25, 1808.—"... I conclude the same sentiment prevails all over the country respecting the Portuguese Convention. Cobbett's dissertation upon it is excellent, though it by no means explains, nor can anything explain, the mystery. I grieve for the opportunity that has been lost of acquiring national glory, but am not sorry to see the Wellesley pride a little lowered."

Wm. Cobbett to Lord Folkestone, M.P., October 9, 1808.—"..

It is indeed a damned thing that Wellesley [Sir Arthur] should give the lie direct [before the Court of Inquiry for his share in the Convention of Cintra] to the *protesting* part of the statement of his friends. Now we have the rascals upon the hip. It is evident that he was the prime cause—the *only* cause—of all the mischief, and that from the motive of thwarting everything *after he was superceded.* Thus do we pay for the arrogance of that damned infernal family. But it all comes at last to *the House of Commons.* The corruptions of that infamous place sent them out [to India and to the Peninsula] and we are justly punished."

Sir Arthur Wellesley was again appointed to the command of our army in the Peninsula, and his first operation was the capture of Oporto, Soult and his forces having been so completely surprised that they were compelled to fly, leaving the whole material of the Army behind them. This brilliant operation restored our spirits in England. In Spain, however, the French were making great progress, and with the exception of the Battle of Baylen, the Spaniards had no successes to boast of. Whenever they encountered the French they were invariably defeated—army after army was dispersed, and their affairs, both civil and military, were so ill-conducted, and so bad a use made of the supplies so liberally furnished by Great Britain that Mr. Canning (then at the head of the Foreign Office) determined to send Lord Wellesley upon a special mission to Spain in the hope that by his counsels he might be enabled to improve their civil and military government. It was intended that I should go as Minister to Portugal, but during Lord Wellesley's absence in Spain events occurred at home which not only produced a partial change in the administration, but also an alteration in my destination.

The first of these events was the duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning. Mr. Canning was so dissatisfied with Lord Castlereagh's administration of the War Department that he determined to resign if Lord C. was suffered to remain at the head of that department, and appraised the Duke of Portland that such was his intention. The Duke communicated with Lord Camden, who held the office of Privy Seal, and was a near relation of Lord Castlereagh. They both thought that Mr. Canning's resignation would break up the Government and they therefore determined to temporise if they could not succeed in prevailing upon Mr. Canning to renounce his determination. The Duke, therefore, finding that Mr. Canning was

not to be dissuaded from his purpose, gave him an assurance that as soon as the Walcheren expedition should have terminated Lord C. should be removed from the War Department whether that enterprise should terminate successfully or not. Lord Castlereagh and every other member of the Cabinet (with the exception of the Duke of Portland, Lord Camden and Mr. Canning) were kept in ignorance of this transaction, although Mr. Canning assured me that he had repeatedly represented to the Duke the unfairness of allowing Lord C. to remain in ignorance of it. As soon as it came to his knowledge he was naturally filled with indignation, and immediately addressed a letter to Mr. Canning couched in very strong terms, and demanding satisfaction for his perfidious conduct towards him.

I was at this time on a visit to my brother Mr. Pole [Wellesley Pole] who had a house at Blackheath, and I frequently called at the Foreign Office knowing that I was shortly to proceed on my mission to Portugal.

Happening to call at the office one morning in the month of October, 1809, I was told that Mr. Canning had inquired for me, and was very anxious to see me. I accordingly went to his room and he put into my hands the letter he had received from Lord Castlereagh, saying at the same time that although he was aware he had no strong claims upon me, he hoped I would not object to act as his friend upon this occasion. After reading the letter I said: "Can this affair be made up by any explanation?" He answered: "Impossible—after such a letter I cannot think of any accommodation." I then said that that being the case I was very sorry I could not accompany him to the field, that Lord Castlereagh was a friend of mine and had always behaved with great kindness to me, that he was, besides, the intimate friend of my brother Lord Wellington,[1] who had been selected by him for the important command which he held in Spain, and that I was sure Lord W. would never forgive me if I appeared against him on such an occasion.

Canning then said: "What then am I to do?" I replied: "Surely one of your intimate friends, the Ellises or Ld. G. Leveson, would be the fittest person to act for you upon this occasion." He replied: "I should have applied to Charles Ellis[2] but he is unfortunately at Clermont to receive the Queen who was to go

[1] Created Viscount Wellington after his victory at Talavera, July, 1809.
[2] Created Baron Seaford in 1826.

there to-day, and I can no longer delay sending the answer to Lord Hertford who is to act as Lord C.'s second, saying that I accept the challenge."

I then said that I would go to Lord Hertford and explain the cause of the delay, and that I would then go to Clermont and bring Charles Ellis to town. In this he acquiesced, and I accordingly went to Lord Hertford who was sitting with Mr. Cooke, gave the necessary explanations with which he was satisfied, and then proceeded to Clermont.

The Royal Family were quitting the park as I entered it. I therefore found Charles Ellis disengaged, and after shewing him Lord Castlereagh's letter and explaining all the circumstances to him he came with me to town.

We immediately went to Gloucester Lodge where we found Canning. We dined with him, and after dinner he signed his will, which Ellis and I witnessed. This was the only moment when he appeared to be at all affected. During the whole of the dinner he talked and laughed as usual without the least appearance of affectation. After dinner Ellis and I went to town. We had an interview with Lord Hertford at my house when the arrangements for the next morning were made. The result of the duel is well known. The parties met at Wimbledon and Canning was wounded in the thigh.

Immediately after the duel Lord Castlereagh resigned his office —and I afterwards heard that he had declared that of the persons concerned in that transaction there was but one whose conduct had not been marked by perfidy, and that person was Henry Wellesley, who had declined being second to his adversary.

I have always been at a loss to account for Canning's motive for applying to me on this occasion, for although I had known him all my life we had never lived in great intimacy. I have sometimes thought that he might have a political motive, and that he might think it of importance to him at this juncture to appear to be intimately connected with the Wellesleys—which, had I acted as his friend in this quarrel, the world might have been induced to believe.

What led afterwards to Canning's resignation of the Foreign Department was a contention which arose, after the Duke of Portland's death, between him and Perceval as to which of them should be Leader of the House of Commons, a post which Perceval had held from the time of the formation of the Duke of Portland's

Administration, and which he was by no means disposed to relinquish. He was also extremely displeased at the conduct observed towards Lord Castlereagh of which he was entirely ignorant.

Several expedients were tried by Canning to induce Perceval to give up the post of Leader of the House of Commons—among others it was proposed that he should go to the House of Peers, which Perceval said would be putting an extinguisher upon his head with a coronet upon it.

I was also privy to this affair, and I remember asking Canning whether he was supported in his pretension by a majority of the Cabinet. He said that he had reason to believe that they were all in his favour excepting one or two; it turned out afterwards, however, that they were all against him excepting one or two, if indeed he could command even that. Finding himself baffled in this attempt, he resigned his situation, which was immediately offered to Lord Wellesley, at that time in Spain,[1] and was accepted by him, much to Canning's annoyance.

Previous to Lord Wellesley's arrival at Cadiz, Sir Arthur Wellesley had entered Spain, had formed a junction with the Spanish Army under General Cuesta, and had gained the Battle of Talavera. He was compelled, however, afterwards to retreat to the frontier of Portugal, for most of the necessary supplies for his army which the Spanish authorities had engaged to furnish when he entered Spain they failed to deliver. Finding his army therefore in a state of utter destitution, he was compelled to retreat, and thus to relinquish the advantages which must have ensued from this victory had the Spaniards fulfilled their engagements.

It was at this moment that Lord Wellesley reached Seville, where the Central Junta was established. After a residence of nearly three months he returned to England upon receiving intelligence of his appointment to succeed Mr. Canning at the Foreign Office. During his stay at Seville he used every argument to shew the Junta the necessity of their adopting a more vigorous and comprehensive system in their civil and military affairs if they hoped for any success in their efforts to expel the French from the Peninsula. But all his efforts were ineffectual even to obtain supplies for Lord Wellington's Army.

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[1] He had been sent in April of this year as Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain, to arrange a common mode of action with the Spanish Junta.

Soon after his return to England his despatches from Spain[1] were laid before Parliament, and have since been published as a suite to the volumes[2] containing an account of his Administration in India. These despatches contain a most comprehensive view of the state of Spain at that period.

The retirement of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning was a severe blow to the Government, and if Lord Wellesley had not consented to join them, Lord Liverpool would have broken up the Administration.

The war in Spain was beginning to be unpopular, and I believe it was principally owing to Lord Wellesley's exertions that our army was not withdrawn from that country, or at least that the reinforcements supposed to enable Lord Wellington to make head against the enemy were sent to him. There was a great deal of Party spirit at work upon this occasion and our total failure was predicted by Mr. Whitbread and by several other members of the Opposition in the House of Commons. I believe Mr. Perceval was not very sanguine as to our success, and that from his language in the Cabinet it was to be inferred that he was not an advocate for the vigorous prosecution of the war in the Peninsula.

Soon after Lord Wellesley's return I was appointed to succeed Mr. Frere as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Spain. Mr. Vaughan[3] was appointed my Secretary of Legation.

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[1] *Despatches and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley during his Mission to Spain*, 1838.

[2] M. Martin, *Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley*, 5 vols, London, 1836-7.

[3] Charles Richard Vaughan, Secretary of Embassy in Spain, 1810-19. Knighted, 1833.

SPAIN.—1810-1814

I

Reception at Cadiz—Opinion of the Council of Regency, 1810—The Duke of Orleans arrives at Cadiz—And is invited to England—A Portuguese intrigue—The Duke of Orleans sails for Palermo—New Regents appointed—Suggested change of system in financial support to Spain—Recommmendation to place provinces under Wellington—Decision to appoint a new Regency, 1811—Wellington General-in-Chief—The Liberal Constitution, 1812—Review of political situation in Spain—Treaty of Peace between Ferdinand VII and Napoleon—Return of Ferdinand.

1810.—The situation in Spain at the time of Henry Wellesley's arrival (February, 1810) was very unpromising for the national cause. The King (Charles IV), Prince Fernando and his brother, known to history as the Don Carlos of a quarter of a century later, were prisoners in France, where they had been lured by Napoleon with a promise of his support. By the Treaty of Bayonne (1808) they had been induced to renounce their rights to the Throne. Napoleon had then bestowed the crown on his brother Joseph, King of Naples.

England had responded to the appeal of the Spanish patriots for help against the invaders, for Canning at once recognised the vital importance of checking their advance. Arms, ammunition and army stores were sent in abundance. The French, however, were already in possession of a large part of the country, including Madrid. Valencia, Murcia and Andalusia, as well as the mountains of the north-west were still free. The organised armies of Spain were everywhere beaten, but small bands of guerrilleros, especially those commanded by the famous "Empecinado,"[1] kept the enemy in a constant state of alarm, while the Spanish nation itself was as determined as ever to drive out the invader or die in the attempt.

In January, 1810, Napoleon resolved to strike a blow at the seat of Government itself. He sent an army of 55,000 men under

[1] Juan Martin, a peasant, but a born commander and the greatest of the Guerilla chiefs.

Joseph to attack Seville. The Central Junta abandoned the city to the enemy and fled to Cadiz where it shortly dissolved itself and was succeeded by a Council of Regency, chosen from among its members. Cadiz now became the capital of what remained of independent Spain. It was closely invested by the French who maintained the siege until August, 1812.

March 7.—On March 7, 1810, Wellesley began his official correspondence with his brother, Lord Wellesley, who had succeeded Canning at the Foreign Office, with the following description of his reception at Cadiz.

Wellesley to Lord Wellesley.—"I was received on my landing with every possible mark of respect and attention. The garrison was under arms and I was met at the landing place by the Duke of Albuquerque, the Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish forces, by M. de Vanegas, the Governor of the town, and by Admiral Villa Vicencio, Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet. . . . The Audience of the Council of Regency having been fixed for the 5th inst., I proceeded on that day to the Isla de Leon. Upon my arrival at the residence of the Government, I was received by the Conde de Camillas, the Master of the Ceremonies, who presented me to M. de Castãnos and the other members of the Regency assembled for that purpose. After presenting my credentials to M. de Castãnos, the President, I stated the satisfaction I felt at being enabled to assure him that His Majesty entertained the same feelings of interest for the welfare of Spain and for the success of the cause for which she was contending, as when he first joined his arms to those of the Spanish nation in defence of its liberty and independence. That the temporary success of the enemy so far from weakening those sentiments in the mind of H.M. would, if required, afford an additional incitement to H.M. to maintain and improve the alliance so happily subsisting between the two kingdoms.

"M. de Castãnos made a suitable reply to this address, stating that the Council of Regency, as well as the whole people of Spain, entertained the liveliest sentiments of respect and veneration for the person of His Majesty, and of gratitude to the English nation for the active and generous support they had afforded to Spain during the whole of the arduous struggle in which she was engaged. . . .

"Before my return to Cadiz I requested a private audience of the Council of Regency, and was immediately admitted. I observed

that I had not asked for an audience upon that occasion for the purpose of submitting to them any of the points stated in my instructions, but that I was anxious to avail myself of the earliest occasion to solicit their confidence, and that I trusted whenever I should in future have occasion to converse with them upon affairs relating to their own country, or more immediately connected with the interests of Great Britain, they would allow me to express my opinions in the most frank and unreserved manner, and that they would observe the same line of conduct in all their communications with me.

"M. de Castãnos observed in reply that this was precisely the footing upon which they were desirous of transacting business with the British Minister. That their Government, he could assure me, was formed upon principles of a nature entirely different from those which directed the proceedings of the Supreme Junta. That they considered the two countries as possessing one common interest, and were therefore anxious to communicate with me upon all subjects, whether they related to Spain or to Great Britain, in the most open and unreserved manner, and that I was at liberty to attend their Councils as often as I might find it convenient to do so.

"I concluded the conference after expressing the highest satisfaction at the manner in which I had been received, and at the cordial disposition which had been manifested by M. de Castãnos and the other members of the Government to maintain a free and unreserved communication with His Majesty's Minister."

March 12.—"It is impossible not to perceive that they have many of the same defects which so strongly characterised the proceedings of the Supreme Junta and which have hitherto baffled every effort of the Spanish nation to deliver itself from the tyranny of foreign usurpation. The same want of energy and firmness, and the same system of procrastination of which your Lordship had so much reason to complain in the conduct of the Supreme Junta prevails, I am sorry to say, in the proceedings of the Council of Regency. . . . They have taken no steps to correct the abuses of the internal Government or to improve the condition of the army. . . .

"I cannot avoid expressing an apprehension that from the little resistance the enemy have met with at Cordova, Seville,

Grenada, Malaga and other towns in Andalusia, which were expected to make the most vigorous defence, the spirit which had hitherto sustained the country . . . is rapidly declining, or at least that it is no longer prevalent in the south of Spain.

"With regard to the city of Cadiz, it cannot, I think, fall into the hands of the enemy so long as it is defended by a British garrison. The spirit of the Junta and the inhabitants is at present excellent, and I have no doubt that any number of troops which it might be thought advisable to send from England would be received here, not only without difficulty, but with the highest satisfaction. If an additional force of 5,000 men were sent here I should think the town perfectly secure from any attack that could be made upon it. . . .

"Although nearly six weeks have elapsed since the Spanish Army arrived at the Isla de Leon, and that since that period they have been unmolested by the enemy and in a manner secure from attack, no attempt has been made to render them more efficient, excepting in the case of the cavalry which, being placed under the direction of General Whittingham, will no doubt become an efficient corps. No progress has been made in the improvement of the infantry. They continue to be ill-clothed, ill-paid, ill-fed, and their discipline totally neglected, and yet they have the example before them (sufficiently humiliating to the mind of a Spaniard) of a Portuguese regiment sent here by Lord Wellington in a very respectable state of discipline and efficiency.

"The pay of some of the Spanish corps is eight, and of others (I believe) fourteen months in arrear; and although money has lately been issued for the payment of the troops, no part of it is to be applied to the liquidation of the arrears."

At the end of March the Duke of Albuquerque resigned and was sent as Ambassador to England. M. de Castãnos succeeded him in the command of the Army, with General Blake under him. General Blake was of Irish extraction and of great military talent. He was made Commander-in-Chief of the army of Galicia, and took a leading part in the campaign against the French occupation.

In April, Wellesley was at last able to report effectual measures on the part of the Spanish Government to ensure the welfare and efficiency of the troops.

The Government also suggested a convention with Great Britain which would indemnify her for her sacrifices on behalf of the

Spanish nation, both military and financial. Wellesley, thinking that a commercial treaty between the two countries would be the only arrangement advantageous to Great Britain, suggested to Lord Wellesley the advisability of entering into such an arrangement as speedily as possible, as no time should be lost "in availing ourselves of the present temper and disposition of the Spanish Government."

The speed with which His Majesty's Government responded to Wellesley's request for reinforcements was evidenced by the arrival at Cadiz, early in April, of detachments of "Guards, the 44th Regiment, and the Rifle Corps."

General O'Donnell, another general of Irish descent, who was later made Count d'Abisbad, was now made Commander-in-Chief in Catalonia. The staff of the Spanish Army was remodelled under General Blake, and great exertions were made at Cadiz to clothe the armies. A disposition to rise against the French throughout Andalusia was reported.

Early in May, General de Castãnos resigned the command of the Army, which devolved on General Blake. The establishment of the Government within the town was decided on, and their public entrance into Cadiz took place on May 29.

Early in June, Wellesley learnt that the Council of Regency had consented to the request of the Duke of Orleans[1] to raise a corps on the frontier of France to act with the Spanish Army, and expressed his opinion as to the danger of such a proceeding. "The employment in this manner of one of the French princes . . . might give rise to speculations in Spain which would ultimately prove injurious to the cause which we were defending."

June 23.—After some reverses in Catalonia, in which the fortresses of Lerida and Hostalrich fell into the hands of the enemy, General O'Donnell resigned his command, to the consternation of the British Minister and the Spanish Government. His apparent reason was a wound he had received.

June 24.—The Duke of Orleans now arrived at Cadiz. He gave out that he came at the express invitation of the Regency and Wellesley suspected the latter of an intention to place the Duke in command of the army in Catalonia. He accordingly warned M. de Bardaxi, the Foreign Minister, that such a proceeding would be strongly disapproved of in England and was evidently not popular in Cadiz, the people having maintained perfect silence upon his landing and having since expressed great dissatisfaction at the idea of his being employed in Spain.

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[1] Afterwards Louis Philippe, King of France. He was at this time exiled from France and living with his father-in-law, the King of Naples.

Wellesley to Lord Wellesley.—" He " (Bardaxi) " admitted that the Duke had interpreted the letter of the Council of Regency into a distinct offer of the command in Catalonia, but assured me that however embarrassed the Government might be by the presence of the Duke at Cadiz, I might rest satisfied that no employment in Spain would be given him, and that they would get rid of him as soon as they could with decency.

" I said that I thought I had good reason to complain of the conduct of M. de Castãnos, who, while he was professing great personal friendship for me and an anxious desire to communicate with me upon all the measures of the Government, had actually invited one of the French princes into the country and had sent a ship-of-war and an agent for the purpose of conveying him to Spain. That if in future measures of such importance were to be concealed or half communications substituted in the room of that frankness of intercourse which ought to subsist between the representatives of nations so intimately connected, there was an end of all confidence and all hope of advantage from a union of councils. M. de B. assured me that it was not intended to conceal this transaction from me and that I might be assured that M. de Castãnos was as adverse to the employment of the Duke of Orleans in the Spanish armies as he was or I could be.

" Your Lordship will, however, probably think it extraordinary that . . . he " [the Duke] " should have been at Cadiz three days without seeking any communication with me beyond the few words he said to me when I waited upon him on his arrival, and this appears to me so extraordinary that I cannot help suspecting that he has been advised not to communicate with the British Minister, or that there is something at the bottom of this transaction which has not yet come to light. . . . I fear, however, that whatever the result . . . may be, it will be attended with great loss of credit and character to the Spanish Government. . . ."

June 28.—" Having been informed that the arrival of the Duke of Orleans in Spain is generally attributed to the influence of the British Government, I have felt it necessary to address a note to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs containing a statement of all that has passed between me and the Spanish Government upon that subject."

It appeared that the Duke of Orleans and his suite had circulated

the report that he had been received with great enthusiasm by the Spaniards, whereas Wellesley knew as a fact that marked coldness had been shown to him everywhere. In consequence of instructions from His Majesty's Government, Wellesley thought it advisable to inform His Highness that in the actual state of affairs in the Peninsula, H.M. Ministers were not of opinion that his services in the Spanish Armies would be productive of any advantage to the common cause, and that they were desirous that His Highness should proceed to England for the purpose of communicating with them. In the event of His Highness being willing to accept this proposal, the British Admiral was directed to provide a vessel for his accommodation.

Wellesley to Lord Wellesley. July 31.—"The Duke . . . expressed himself as extremely desirous to meet the wishes of H.M. Government as far as was consistent with the consideration due to his own character and to the illustrious family of which he was a member, but said it required some deliberation before he could resolve upon relinquishing the expectation which had been held out to him of honourable service in a cause to which he was ready to devote his life."

August 12.—In view of the continued presence of the Duke of Orleans at Cadiz, where he was said to be using all possible means to induce the Council of Regency to appoint him to the command of one of the armies, Wellesley informed M. de Bardaxi that unless he gave him a positive assurance that there was no intention of employing the Duke, he would be compelled to send him an official note protesting against the adoption of such a measure. M. de Bardaxi replied that in view of the embarrassing position of the Government he would be glad if he would do so. Wellesley accordingly stated officially the sentiments of H.M.G. on the subject, expressing the hope that the Council of Regency would convey them to the Duke and that he would thereby be induced to leave the country.

In a letter to the President of the Council explaining his reasons for coming to Spain, the Duke described his departure from Sicily, where he was living happily with his family, and the feelings with which he had accepted the invitation of the Regency. He was received, he said, with the utmost joy and respect in Catalonia. He had come to Cadiz for the purpose of consulting personally with the Regency, but although he had given his opinion on the defences of Cadiz and on the campaign in Catalonia no reply had been made to his suggestions nor was he invited to discuss any

military questions. Not only were no advances made for offering him the command of an army, but the Regency had attempted to conceal the fact of their invitation. As calumnious constructions had been put upon his presence he demanded a public explanation by the Regency as the only means of safeguarding his honour.

In reply the Regency said that at the beginning of the Revolution the Spanish Government was anxious for his presence, but that the reverse in Catalonia had changed the aspect of affairs. They stated that they had the highest respect for his person and talents and regretted that they had no present means of employing him. They assured him that any calumnies he might have heard were mere idle talk of the town, which they advised him to ignore.

At the end of August Wellesley suggested to Lord Wellesley that the sum of one million sterling should be placed at his disposal to be advanced to the Spanish Government as the occasion required. He also submitted a proposal from General Whittingham to raise a corps of 10,000 men to be paid by the Spanish Government, but clothed and fed by Great Britain.

September 7.—There was a party among the deputies to the Cortes in favour of placing Donna Carlotta,[1] Princess of the Brazils, at the head of the Government, " to give to the Nation a visible Head . . . seeing the impossibility of the restitution of their Princes Ferdinand and Charles." There was also a party in favour of electing the Duke of Orleans, who had expressed his determination not to remove from Cadiz until after the assembly of the Cortes. Wellesley had advised the deputies to choose a government from among themselves as better suited to circumstances than placing any member of the Bourbon family at the head of affairs. In reporting the Portuguese intrigue to Lord Wellesley he said :

September 17.—" Until the enemy shall be driven out of Spain it will be much for the advantage of the common cause (particularly in as far as Great Britain is concerned in it) that the reigning family in Portugal should have no concern whatever in Spanish affairs. Portugal is at present entirely under the control and direction of the British Government and the consequences have not only produced the salvation of that kingdom, but probably of Spain likewise. But the appointment of the Princess of Brazils to be Regent in Spain would necessarily weaken our influence in the Peninsula, would place the Army of Portugal in some measure at the disposal

[1] Sister of Ferdinand and Carlos, and wife of John VI of Portugal. Carlotta's two daughters, Isabella and Francesca, were married (1816) respectively to Ferdinand and his brother Carlos.

of the Spanish Government, and would probably expose the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army to the interference of the Spanish Government in military points, from which he is now entirely free."

The most important act of the new Cortes was their assumption of the Royal Power during the captivity of Ferdinand, thus putting an end to any idea of making the Princess of Brazils Regent. They also showed a desire to conciliate the Colonies and to secure their adherence to the Mother Country.

At the end of September a resolution was passed in the Cortes stating the absolute necessity of the departure of the Duke of Orleans from the territory of Spain, and requiring the Council of Regency to take the necessary measures for his immediate removal. The President of the Regency apprised the Duke of the decision of the Cortes and requested his departure in twenty-four hours, informing him that a frigate was ready to convey him to Palermo or to any other place not situated within the Spanish territory. In spite of this request the Duke presented himself during a secret session of the Cortes and requested admittance. After some discussion this was refused, one of the members calling the attention of the Cortes to the " indecency " of such an intrusion after their recent decision. Finally two members were deputed to convey to the Duke the refusal of the Cortes, and the Regency again requested his immediate departure from Spain. The Duke accordingly sailed for Palermo in a Spanish frigate on October 3rd.

November 2.—New Regents were now appointed, among whom was General Blake. " The appointment . . . seems upon the whole to have given satisfaction. General Blake possesses an extensive knowledge of his profession, and is certainly free from many of the defects inherent in the Spanish character. He is, besides, generally esteemed and respected for his determined resistance to the usurpation of France, for his great integrity and for the simplicity of his manners."

General Blake arrived in Cadiz, and Wellesley advanced the sum of 50,000 dollars to the Spanish Government to enable them to complete the necessary military works, " there not being a dollar in the Treasury."

December 16.—Wellesley now suggested some change of system with regard to the aid to be afforded Spain in future by Great Britain, and advised the adoption of a system similar to that which had succeeded so well in Portugal. For three years, he said, we had been assisting Spain to the amount of £1,500,000 per annum, either in money or supplies, and little more had been done than to keep the cause alive. The Spaniards were perpetually calling out

for further supplies without having, by their own exertions, advanced one step towards the expulsion of the enemy from the country.

Wellesley to Lord Wellesley.—"I recommended that it should be proposed to place 10,000 men under the exclusive command of the officer commanding H.M. troops at Cadiz, the Commander having the power of employing as many British officers to discipline the corps as he might judge to be requisite. . . . It is not improbable that such a proposal would be deemed inadmissible by the Government, but if it were properly explained to some of the Members of the Cortes I am of opinion that it would be approved by that Assembly, and in that case the Government would hardly venture to resist it."

At the end of this year Wellesley was able to report great progress in the expulsion of the enemy from Spanish territory. In consequence of the British successes in Portugal the Provinces of Estramadura and Gallicia were entirely free and Castile partially so. The French had lost much military reputation by the check they had met with in Portugal where the great object of their campaign had been defeated. Wellington's army had been kept behind the lines of Torres Vedras by Masséna all through the winter, but early in March Wellington had forced him to retreat and withdraw into Spain with a loss of 20,000 men.

January 1, 1811.—In consequence of the rumour of a marriage between Ferdinand VII and a Princess of Austria, the Cortes issued a Decree declaring null and void any act of Ferdinand so long as he remained in captivity. It protested anew that the Spanish nation would not lay down arms nor listen to any proposal for accommodation unless the King was restored to his subjects. The Decree was followed by an address to the people exposing the designs of Bonaparte in arranging the marriage and proposing to send Ferdinand back to Spain.

"In the course of the discussion" [in the Cortes] Wellesley wrote "great delicacy was observed by the deputies in their allusions to Ferdinand VII. They treated the question as far as it regarded the King as if no blame could attach to him for any of his acts so long as he should continue under the influence of the Ruler of France."

March 5.—On March 5th an action took place by British troops under General Graham against the French position at Barrossa. According to Wellesley this should have been a brilliant

victory, but it partially failed owing to the want of co-operation on the part of the Spaniards and to the incapacity of the Spanish Commander. Owing to the circulation of reports of the affair injurious to the character of the British Army, in order to mislead the public as to the causes of failure, Wellesley demanded a strict inquiry by the Government.

March 10.—In a despatch dated March 10, Wellesley wrote :

" Until the Spanish Army is properly organised, disciplined, officered and commanded, no confidence can possibly be placed in it. . . . I certainly am of opinion that the affairs of Spain are in a state to require the direct interference of H.M.G., and a declaration of the conditions upon which the war in the Peninsula is in future to be carried on."

March 25.—In consequence of the retreat of Marshal Masséna and the probability of some of the Spanish Provinces soon becoming the theatre of active military operations, Wellesley took the responsibility, without instructions, of recommending the Regency to place the Provinces immediately adjoining Portugal under the temporary orders of Lord Wellington. In reporting this step he remarked on the apparent lack of ambition among the Spanish Generals and said that it was a fact that those who had been least successful, " as in the case of General Blake who has lost seventeen battles with one single instance only of success," had the greatest number of adherents.

April 5.—The Cortes decided against conferring upon Lord Wellington the command of the Spanish Provinces adjacent to Portugal. This decision, in Wellesley's opinion, was largely brought about by General Blake, who had been consistently hostile to British influence.

May 29.—In May, when acknowledging H.M.G.'s despatches approving of giving Lord Wellington the command of the Spanish Provinces, Wellesley doubted whether the moment was auspicious for making the proposal to the Spanish Government. The recent victory at Albuera (May 16) in which, although the chief brunt of the action had fallen on the British, Spanish troops had participated, was being cited by the Spanish newspapers as a proof of the discipline of the Spanish Armies.

July 17.—In reporting the fall of Tarragona (May 11) with serious loss to the Spaniards, Wellesley said that public feeling in Spain, apart from official circles, was one of contempt of its own Government and the most lively gratitude for the generous and powerful assistance which Spain had received from Great Britain.

If it had been possible under existing treaties, the Nation would have been willing to act independently of its Government and to adopt any measures for the advantage of Spain which the British Government might recommend.

August 31.—Wellesley was now promoted to the rank of Ambassador. He next turned his attention to the Regency. Its continued inactivity and want of system convinced him that he must bring pressure to bear on the Cortes to change the Government. He accordingly pointed out to some of the members that the operations of the war since the existing Regency had been in power had exhibited one continued series of defeat and disaster, and that unless it was changed he would no longer be the instrument of lavishing the resources of Great Britain on the country with no result.

After many discussions in the Cortes it was decided to appoint a new Regency, and to include in it the men recommended by Wellesley as being the fittest to be placed at the head of affairs. These were the Duke of Infantado, who had been Ambassador to England, Admiral Villa Vicencio and General Henry O'Donnell.

March 10, 1812.—In describing the measures which he proposed to take in the event of the refusal of the Cortes to appoint a new Regency, Wellesley had stated his motives to Lord Wellesley as follows :

" During the period of my employment in Spain it has been my constant endeavour to adhere, as far as might be practicable, to the principles so often stated in Parliament . . . as those by which our conduct should be regulated in our intercourse with the Spanish Nation and its Government. But I apprehend that these principles would not have been so strongly inculcated if it could have been foreseen that the Spanish Nation would be brought to the brink of ruin, not by the military successes of the enemy, but by the continued misconduct of its Government. By too rigid an adherence to the principle of not interfering in their Government, the people of Spain would have been sacrificed to the prejudice, obstinacy and interested views of a few individuals in the Cortes, who, while they joined in the general voice of the Nation as to the incapacity of the late Regents and their unfitness for the high employment to which they were called, rejected every suggestion which had their removal for its object. The successful and speedy termination of the war must always have been the principal object of the Allied Powers.

" Under the late Regency success was not to be expected, but after the continued series of disasters which have been witnessed

within the last two years, there was too much reason to apprehend that the war would terminate speedily by the conquest of all the most important fortresses and of all those parts of Spain not immediately within reach of the British Army.

"It is true that the authority and influence of the Government have hitherto, to a great degree, been confined within the City of Cadiz, but officers selected by General Blake, of notorious incapacity, and many of them of dangerous principles, were placed in command of the Armies and of the different fortresses of the Kingdom—and the consequences have been the loss of almost the whole of the Eastern coast of Spain, including the fortresses of Lerida, Tarragona, Tortosa, Murviedo, the city of Valencia with the whole of the Army unaccountably shut up in that city, which it is well known will soon be compelled to surrender for want of provisions.

"The same system in the selection of officers led to the fall of Badajoz,[1] to the ill success of the Expedition which terminated in the Battle of Barrosa, and to all the disasters which have befallen the Spanish Armies during a period of fifteen months. If the authority of the Government has not hitherto been respected in the country, it is solely to be ascribed to the neglect of all the measures necessary to assist the exertions of the people, and to the want of public confidence in the regular armies and in the officers selected to command them.

"Under such circumstances I thought the Spanish people would have the right to look to our interference to preserve them from entire destruction. . . .

"The change in the Government has, however, fortunately been effected without my being obliged to resort to any measures not strictly within the line of my duty as H.M. Ambassador in Spain. . . . But with the limited means which they possess we cannot reasonably look for all the advantages which might be expected to ensue from a Government of activity, energy and firmness, determined to pursue a steady system of combined operation with its Allies and to sacrifice every consideration to that object.

"I therefore feel it to be my duty once more to submit to your Lordship the inadequacy of the succours afforded by Great Britain. . . . A sum of £1,200,000 would, I think, be sufficient,

[1] This important fortress was captured by the French, under Soult, March 11, 1811; it was invested by Wellington on March 16, 1812, and stormed and taken by him on April 6 of the same year.

annually, to meet the pecuniary exigencies of the Government and to make occasional advances to the military agents commanding Corps and to assist the Junta of Cadiz to a certain extent by a loan."

March 23.—Wellesley now received the news of the appointment of Lord Castlereagh to the Foreign Office, by which the British Ministry that finally overthrew Napoleon was made complete.

In April Wellesley was made a Companion of the Order of the Bath. He reported efforts on the part of the new Regency to supply the armies with provisions and clothing, the sums advanced by the Ambassador being exclusively devoted to these objects.

August 16.—In August the Order of the Golden Fleece was conferred on Lord Wellington by the Spanish Government as "a particular mark of their sense of the importance of the victory obtained over the French Army on the plains of Salamanca.[1]"

August 26, 1812. *Wellesley to Castlereagh.*—On August 26th Wellesley wrote:

". . . The raising of the siege [of Cadiz] . . . is not the least important consequence of the victory of Salamanca. . . . I can give but a faint idea of the general joy which this event has occasioned among the inhabitants of this place who have been thus released from a seige of two and a half years duration."

September 17.—Admiral Villa Vicencio and General Henry O'Donnell having resigned from the Regency in consequence of their disapproval of the policy of their colleagues, Wellesley, on being consulted by the President of the Cortes, advised the appointment of a new Government with General O'Donnell at its head.

September 20.—Wellington was now appointed General-in-Chief of the Spanish Armies in the Peninsula, by a Decree of the Cortes, the Regency to determine the powers to be granted to him.

Wellesley to Castlereagh.—"This Decree which passed unanimously, and which affords so remarkable a proof of the change produced in the minds of public men by the late successes in the Peninsula, is the voluntary act of the Cortes founded upon a conviction of its necessity. . . . The appointment . . . has afforded general satisfaction and M. de la Vega, under

[1] The engagement took place on July 22. The French, under Marshal Marmont, were totally defeated. They left over 7,000 prisoners in the hands of the British, who themselves suffered very heavy losses. A Marquisate was conferred on Wellington as a reward for this victory.

apprehensions that his Lordship might feel objections to accepting it, entreated that I would assure him in a private letter that if the powers which belonged to the appointment according to the Spanish military regulations were thought by him to be inadequate, the Cortes would be ready . . . to extend them as much as he might deem to be necessary. . . . After the experience of four years there is no one in Spain who believes that the Country will be saved by the measures of this or of any other Government composed of Spaniards, and it is to the prevalence of this sentiment in the Cortes as much as to the increasing confidence of the Nation in the British Army and in its Commander that we are indebted for the sacrifice of those prejudices which existed, to placing a foreigner at the head of the Spanish Armies."

The Ambassador suggested that the financial assistance to be granted to Spain in the ensuing year should be placed at the disposal of Wellington . . . as this would ensure the introduction of those improvements in the Armies which were so necessary to the success of the Campaign.

November 6, 1812.—In a letter to the Minister of War, General Ballasteros protested strongly against the Command of the Spanish Armies being conferred on a foreigner without the consent of the Spanish Generals and of the Nation. The Cortes immediately deprived the General of his command and ordered him to the Fortress of Ceuta.

Wellesley to Castlereagh.—" The indignation and disgust which his letter has excited afford a most gratifying proof of the general sentiment prevailing in favour of Lord Wellington's appointment. . . . General Henry O'Donnell is appointed Captain-General of Andalusia and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Reserve forming in this province. The confidence of the Cortes in Lord Wellington is unbounded, and in this I rest my principal hope of the salvation of Spain. . . .

" They are very proud of the Constitution[1] and Lord Wellington has secured their favour by proclaiming it in Madrid and in every town he has entered. A good administration might be selected from among the Members of the Cortes were it not for the absurd Decree which precludes a Member of the Cortes from holding any other public employment. The ablest men in the

[1] The Liberal Constitution of January, 1812. All the internal troubles of Spain for the next fifty years were centred round this Constitution.

Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, 2nd Marquess of Londonderry.
From the picture by Sir Thomas Lawrence in the National Portrait Gallery.

country are thus excluded from any share in public affairs, excepting as public speakers.

"It is singular that the Revolution in Spain should not have produced one man of talents equal to the command of the Armies or to the administration of public affairs. General O'Donnell, the only man I have yet seen who is fit to be placed at the head of affairs, with all his spirit, activity, and intelligence, has great faults of temper and is full of the prejudices of his countrymen. In general, those who compose the higher classes, among whom I include all those in office or candidates for it, are, from their education, habits and prejudices, entirely unfit for any public employment. It is not therefore to be expected that the Country will be saved by Spanish Councils."

January 1, 1813.—"The Marquis of Wellington arrived here [Cadiz] on the 24th ult. Previous to his arrival he addressed a letter to the Minister of War in which he pointed out the defects in the military system . . . suggesting certain arrangements with a view to lessening the expenses of the Army, and stating the Powers which he should require in order to enable him to do justice to the command which had been conferred upon him. Some objections were at first made by the Government to the grant of Powers so extensive; but Lord Wellington, in a conference with the Regency, succeeded in convincing them that without these Powers no benefit could possibly ensue from placing him at the head of the Spanish Armies."

March 27.—At the beginning of March the enemy abandoned the Northern coast of Spain.

Intrigues to place the Princess of the Brazils at the head of the Government had been going on for some time, and concerning this, and changes in the Government, Wellesley reported:

"The appointment of the present Regency [with the Cardinal de Bourbon, a connection of the Royal Family of Spain, as President] has been declared permanent. Before the resolution passed the Cortes the Party of the Princess of the Brazils had several meetings, and it was determined to seize the first opportunity of proposing H.R.H. for the Regency. . . . The public, however, who were apprised of the unjustifiable means which had been used to augment her Party . . . expressed their indignation against those who

should bring forward her pretensions in terms so unequivocal that no one of her partisans was found bold enough to make a motion in her favour. Such has been the issue of an intrigue in the progress of which neither money, promises nor threats have been spared in order to ensure its success."

April 10.—In reporting engagements with the enemy in which General Whittingham's corps was principally engaged, Wellesley wrote :

" Its conduct upon these occasions is highly creditable to the Major-General's exertions in its formation and discipline, and shows how much may be expected from Spanish troops under the management of active and intelligent officers."

In June the junction of the 2nd and 3rd Spanish Armies was effected, and was followed by the evacuation of Madrid by the French. Early in July came news of Wellington's victory at Vittoria (June 21).

" The intelligence of the glorious victory obtained over the French in the neighbourhood of Vittoria reached Cadiz on July 1st and was received with every possible demonstration of joy. The Cortes, upon the news being announced to them, sent a Deputation . . . to congratulate me and ordered that the city should be illuminated for three nights. On July 2nd Lord Wellington's despatches to the Spanish Government were read in the Cortes."

In gratitude for Wellington's services the Cortes determined to grant him a national property (the Soto de Roma.)

September 7.—In a review of the political situation in Spain, Wellesley gave it as his opinion that the new Constitution which it was the aim of the Liberals to establish, was modelled upon the French Constitution of 1791, its fundamental principle being " The Sovereignty of the People." In proportion as this principle gained ground, he observed, an anti-English spirit arose which, however, had not extended beyond Cadiz.

Wellesley to Castlereagh.—" The bulk of the Nation is well convinced that the prosperous turn which affairs have taken in Spain is due to the efforts of Great Britain, and that the final success of the contest depends upon the continuance of her

exertions. Neither is it probable that the new order of things is consonant to the general feeling of the Nation. . . . The Spaniards are naturally attached to their ancient customs and their peculiar Provincial privileges, and they have a respect for Rank and Distinction. . . . The upper classes . . . must be impressed with a strong feeling of resentment. The feudal rights of the nobility, forming an essential part of their property, have been taken from them without compensation. . . . Every day shows the necessity and importance of the intermediate influence of the nobility between the Throne and the Cortes. It is to be lamented that when the Cortes were first assembled, the nobility, instead of being looked upon as a dangerous class of subjects to entrust with power, were not considered, as they ought to have been, the most useful allies of the People in establishing a free Constitution of Government. The most favourable opportunity of placing these Representatives of Property in the Government has been lost, and without them it will be very difficult to maintain the just rights of the Crown or to establish a proper check upon the spirit of precipitate reform which must prevail while the Country is governed by one popular Assembly."

Wellesley was now instructed by the Home Government to send a protest to the Spanish Government " relative to the vexatious interference of the Regency in Wellington's command of the Spanish Army, in violation of the conditions under which he consented to accept it." In reply, he was assured by the Foreign Minister that though the Regent had complete confidence in the " eminent qualities which characterise the invincible Field-Marshal " he claimed supreme authority in the executive part.

Wellington had written to the Regency requesting them to accept his resignation of the command unless they were prepared to abide strictly by the conditions agreed upon with the late Government. This correspondence was referred to a Committee of the Cortes who, however, declined to come to a decision and advised the Regency to consult the Council of State. Wellesley was privately informed that the whole tenor of the correspondence of the Regency with the Cortes on this matter showed it to be their intention to get rid of Wellington. The committee, on the contrary, were outraged at the proceedings of the Regency, and wished to enable Wellington to continue in command. Finally, the Council of State communicated officially their opinion to the Regency " that it would be highly impolitic to dispossess his Lordship of

the command and that the conditions agreed upon . . . should not only be strictly adhered to, but that more extensive powers should be granted to him if he should judge them to be necessary."

At the end of November it was decided to remove the Government to Madrid at the beginning of the following year.

1814.—The first business to be considered by the Government was their reply to a letter from Ferdinand VII informing them of a Treaty of Peace which he had concluded with Napoleon, and which he requested them to ratify. This was the Treaty of Valençay, signed on December 13th, 1813, by which Napoleon recognised Ferdinand as King of Spain on certain conditions, one of them being that the English should be expelled from Spain.

In their reply, the Regency referred H.C.M. to the Decree of the Cortes of January 1st, 1811, in which the Government is precluded from entering into any Treaty with the French Government. The letter concluded by expressing the conviction of the Regency that the period was not far distant when H.M. would be restored to his Kingdom, and when they would have the satisfaction of delivering into his hands the Powers with which they were entrusted.

March 22.—On the intelligence arriving of the entry of the Allies into Bordeaux[1] the Spanish Government was anxious to declare war against Bonaparte personally and to engage never to renew the Family Compact with France even if the Bourbons should be restored.[2]

On March 24th General Zayas arrived at Madrid with a letter to the Regency from Ferdinand announcing his approaching return to Spain "unfettered by any conditions, and accompanied by his brother and uncle and the Infantes Don Carlos and Don Antonio."

Wellesley had an interview with General Zayas who had been directed by the King to express to him "his sincere gratitude for the exertions of the Prince Regent's Government in his behalf, to which H.M. was sensible he was principally indebted for his Restoration to the Throne."

March 24.—There was much speculation as to the conduct of King Ferdinand on his arrival.

Wellesley to Castlereagh.—"Several of those who were in his confidence formerly hold very imprudent language tending to excite H.M. to decline to take the oath prescribed by the Constitution. . . . In the actual state of Parties at Madrid the only safe line for the King to take is to accept the Constitution and to declare his

[1] On February 27.

[2] Napoleon went to Elba in April, 1814.

determination to govern according to its regulations and without showing any particular partiality to either of the leading Parties in the Cortes, and to select his Ministers and advisers from among the ablest men on both sides. By adopting this line of conduct he will insure the good will and support of the Nation and may, by degrees, be enabled to effect such changes in the Constitution as are necessary."

SPAIN.—1814-1822

II

Ferdinand repudiates the Convention—His reception at Madrid—Treaty of Friendship and Alliance—The abolition of the Slave Trade—Arbitrary methods of Ferdinand with his Ministers—Spanish complaints against Britain—Napoleon's escape from Elba—The Duc d'Angoulême—The price of Abolition—Discontent in Spain—Preparations for an Expedition to South America—Cession of the Floridas—Ferdinand accepts the Constitution of 1812—The disturbed state of the country.

The period dealt with in the following chapter marks a great change in the fortunes of Spain—the breaking away of her vast American possessions. Although we had waged a lengthy war with Spain before the alliance of 1808 against Napoleon, we had made only one serious attempt against the mainland of Spanish-America, the disastrous expedition to Buenos Ayres in 1806.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century the whole of South and Central America, with the exception of Brazil and Guiana, was Spanish.

No doubt the War of Independence of the British American Colonies had some effect on the population of Central and South America, suffering as they did from Spanish oppression; but Ferdinand's imprisonment and the struggles of the Peninsula War swayed them to a patriotic outburst. Unfortunately the reception of Colonial deputies and their treatment by the Cortes was such, that, on Ferdinand's return in 1814, the Colonists were determined on independence. Commencing about 1810 the fight continued until 1825.

1814.—The King signalised his return by a Proclamation issued on May 12th announcing his determination not to accept the Constitution of 1812, but pledging himself to assemble the Cortes according to the ancient laws of the Kingdom and to establish a moderate form of government.

Wellesley to Castlereagh.—"The downfall of the Constitution

has not excited a murmur, and certainly at no time since I have been in Spain has the residence of the Government been in a state of such perfect tranquillity as at the present moment. Much will depend upon the King's future proceedings being conducted with good sense and moderation."

May 15.—"The King made his public entrance into Madrid on the 13th instant. In addition to the inhabitants of the Capital, the streets were filled with a vast concourse of people assembled from all the towns in the neighbourhood, besides those who accompanied the King's carriage, which was drawn by the populace the whole way from Aranjuez to Madrid—a distance of nearly thirty miles.

"The manner in which the King was received surpassed the expectations of those who were best acquainted with the loyalty of the inhabitants of this city and who had witnessed the joy which had been excited by the intelligence of his arrival upon the frontier. In the course of his progress to his Capital, as well as in his reception yesterday, the most gratifying proofs have been afforded to H.M. that his long captivity, and the miseries to which the country has been exposed during the period of its usurpation by the French, have abated nothing of the affectionate attachment of this admirable people to their lawful Sovereign."

June 3.—"The Duke of Wellington[1] arrived here on the 24th ult., and was received by the King with every possible degree of distinction. The troops were drawn out and lined the streets through which he passed, an honour which at the King's residence was never before paid to any individual excepting to H.M. himself. The people likewise manifested their joy at his Grace's arrival in a manner which must have been highly gratifying to his feelings. . . ."

In a conversation with the Duke of San Carlos (the new Minister of State) the latter hinted to our Ambassador that the King and his Ministers were anxious for further financial assistance from Great Britain. In reporting this he said:

"The conversation which I have related has at last brought matters

[1] Created Duke of Wellington in May of this year.

to this point—that until a hope can reasonably be entertained that in the place of the Constitution which has been destroyed an improved system will be introduced such as is announced in the King's Proclamation of May 4th—until the Government shall manifest a decided intention of avoiding any connection with France, of connecting itself more closely with Great Britain, of establishing the commercial relations between the two Nations upon a proper footing, as well in the Peninsula as in South America, it will be in vain to seek for assistance from Great Britain; and I have no doubt that this conviction is fully impressed upon the mind of the Duke of San Carlos."

June 17.—" The delay in issuing the Proclamation for assembling the Cortes, together with the prolonged confinement of the persons who have been arrested without any apparent cause, have occasioned great discontent."

July 5.—On July 5th a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance was signed between Great Britain and Spain in which the latter engaged in a secret article not to renew the Family Compact with France. In referring to this the Ambassador wrote:

" In the belief that there will be no objection to granting the remainder of the Subsidy for the present year, upon signing the Treaty, and upon the Duke of San Carlos representing to me that they really have not money sufficient to provide for the expenses o the King's table, I advanced one hundred thousand pounds upon account of the Subsidy. . . . Discontent continues to prevail at Madrid. . . . The King is evidently unhappy at the state of his Government and at the representations which are made to him through anonymous letters, of the public discontent. He passes several hours daily with his Ministers, and lately expressed . . . how much he was oppressed by the difficulties which surrounded him, and his regret at the little progress which had been made in arranging the affairs of the Kingdom."

July 23.—In speaking of the re-establishment of the Inquisition which had lately taken place, the Duke of San Carlos stated that he had not the least idea of the King's intention until too late. Wellesley was of opinion that the measure would be popular with the lower classes.

Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington, K.G.

From the picture by Hoppner in the Collection of the Duke of Wellington.

August 25.—Acting upon instructions from H.M.G. Wellesley informed the Spanish Government that the abolition of the Slave Trade was an indispensable condition of the continuation of the Subsidy and the raising of a loan, but the only concession that the Government was disposed to make was that they might consent to its abolition in five years time.

Wellesley to Castlereagh.—"There is a most powerful interest here against the abolition, otherwise such are the pecuniary distresses of the Government that I do not think they could have resisted the liberal offers of the British Government. . . . If it was thought advisable to give to Spain the remainder of the Subsidy for the present year and to propose to Parliament to grant her a loan upon condition of the trade being abolished in five years . . . and that I were authorised to make this proposal, I think it not improbable that it might be accepted."

November 11.—In the following November an incident is related characteristic of the arbitrary methods of Ferdinand in dealing with his Ministers.

"At an early hour of the morning of the 8th inst., the King, attended by the Duke of Alagon, the Captain of the Body Guard, proceeded to the house of M. Macanaz, the Minister of Grace and Justice. A detachment of troops had, the night before, been stationed in the neighbourhood, and upon a signal given by the Duke of A. guards were placed at the entrance of M. Macanaz' house and at the doors of his apartments and of those of his family. The King then entering his apartment informed him that he was under arrest and demanded the keys of his writing desk, from which he took several papers and then left the house.

"It has since been ascertained that the King has received several anonymous letters accusing M. Macanaz of selling the employments at his disposal. . . . It is supposed that . . . H.M. being apprehensive that if he proceeded according to the usual forms in such cases M. Macanaz might easily escape detection, determined to ascertain the truth in the manner already related; and as M. Macanaz and his family continue under arrest, and he has been deprived of his office . . . it is probable that the King is in possession of sufficient evidence to convict him of the malpractices

attributed to him. His disgrace is a severe blow to the French Party of which he was a principal supporter."

November 24.—" The expectation that the disgrace of M. Macanaz would be followed by the retirement from office of the Duke of San Carlos has since been realised. A few days ago he tendered his resignation to the King, which was accepted without hesitation and without any explanation on either side; and Don Pedro Cavallos is now Minister of State. . . . This resignation, as well as the fall of M. Macanaz, have been received with satisfaction by the people because they are both suspected of a desire to renew the relations formerly subsisting between France and Spain. I must, however, in justice to the Duke of San Carlos, declare that since the signature of the Treaty between H.C.M. and the Prince Regent, he has constantly shown a desire to do what was necessary on the part of Spain in order that she might reap all the advantages to be expected from her Alliance with Great Britain; and had his representations produced the effect which might have been expected in the Councils of H.C.M. I believe that the wishes of H.M.G., both with respect to the abolition of the Slave Trade and to the establishment of a commercial intercourse which should be equally advantageous to both countries, would have been fulfilled. . . . His fall is to be attributed to the intrigues of the clergy, and it is indeed impossible that any administration can do its duty by the Country or can even maintain itself in power so long as the King shall withhold his confidence from his Ministers and shall suffer himself to be influenced by the secret advisers who surround him and the rest of the Royal Family."

December 7.—" There exists no doubt that the King returned to Spain with the intention of swearing to the Constitution, under a conviction that resistance to it would be unavailing; and he only abandoned this intention . . . when he began to obtain some insight into the general dislike of the Spanish people to the new order of things. It is an error to suppose that the Liberals possessed the confidence of the people of Spain or that it was anything more than a faction which had gained over the mob of Cadiz, and by intimidating the opposite Party in the Cortes had succeeded in establishing a Regency composed of its own friends. . . . But the nobility, the clergy and all the respectable men in the country

had long foreseen the dangerous tendency of the principles inculcated by the Liberals, and it soon appeared, after the King's return, that their boasted work, the Constitution, had few or no supporters among the people.

". . . With the knowledge therefore which the King possessed . . . of the prevalence of the sentiment of dislike to the Constitution throughout the Nation, he would have endangered his own existence if he had adopted it. After his arrival at Valencia there was no room to doubt his intention of rejecting it. . . . The Liberals at Madrid, although no preparations were made for opposing any effectual resistance to the King's project, proceeded with their usual violence—new limits were prescribed . . . to the King's authority, the newspapers in the interest of the Liberal Party were filled with menaces and exhortations to the people to resistance, and those of Cadiz went so far as to insinuate that he ought to be put to death.

" It may be asked whether, if the Liberals had succeeded in establishing their power, they would have shewn a greater degree of lenity to the King and the Party which supported him than has been manifested towards them—but a far more important question, as applicable to the conduct which we ought to pursue, is whether the measures of the Government have in any degree weakened the affection of the Spanish people for the person of their Sovereign and whether they are not contented with their lot. If such be (as I believe them to be) the sentiments of the Spanish people, the avowed principles of those who are most forward in condemning the measures of this Government must lead them to admit that any interference on the part of a Foreign Power would be highly unjustifiable.

" However defective her Government may be, Spain must always be of importance in the general scale of Europe, on account of her local situation, her harbours and the resources of her Colonies. . . . The question then, as far as it relates to Great Britain, is whether it be of importance to the future tranquillity of Europe that she should maintain a good understanding with this country. By unparalleled exertions and sacrifices we have succeeded in rescuing Spain from French usurpation, and she is now bound by Treaty not to renew her connection with France—but the unreserved expressions of disapprobation of the King, of his Government and of the Spanish people in general [in the English

newspapers] must, as they wound the national vanity, ultimately destroy all feeling of cordiality between the two countries, and may ultimately throw Spain back into the hands of France. It is not for me to judge of the degree of value which belongs to our Alliance with Spain, but it is my duty to point out what is likely to promote the union between the two nations and what to lead to its destruction."

December 22.—" The affair of M. Macanaz was not referred to any tribunal but was decided by the King himself. He is sentenced to be imprisoned in the Castle of San Antonio . . . during the King's pleasure."

January 9, 1815.—" From the conversations which I have had with M. de Cavallos I have reason to believe that he did remonstrate with the King very seriously upon the state of his Government and particularly upon the severity of his measures towards the persons arrested on account of their political opinions. . . . I believe that M. de C.'s intentions are good but he is without influence."

February 14. *Private.*—" The King is known to have recently expressed his determination to connect himself with France, but whatever may be the present temper of H.M. we know by experience that he is not very constant in the maintenance of his resolutions. . . . The Spanish Government have four grounds of complaint against us :

First : for our conduct with respect to Spanish-America.
Secondly : for our abandonment of the Spanish interests in Italy.
Thirdly : for having refused to allow their interests to be discussed in the negociations with the United States.
Fourthly : for the observations in Parliament and in the newspapers upon the conduct of the King and of his Government, and for the acquiescence of Ministers in these observations. . . ."

" Under such circumstances it is no easy matter to maintain our influence here. We have France and Russia constantly working against us—and all those about the Court who are desirous of a connection with France take every opportunity of fomenting the discontent against England."

February 15. *Private.*—"In some of my private letters I have endeavoured to give your Lordship some insight into the King's character and mode of proceeding towards individuals, as affording the best means of judging of the manner in which affairs are conducted here, over which the Ministers have no influence whatever. It lately happened that M. Villanil, who was at the head of the Finance Department, found it necessary to explain to the King some part of his conduct which had been attacked. The King listened to him very graciously and expressed himself to be perfectly satisfied with the explanation. M. Villanil then ventured to remonstrate with H.M. upon his giving his confidence to persons who had no responsibility, and withholding it from his Ministers. The King said his observations were perfectly just and that he might be assured of his paying attention to them, and then dismissed him in apparent good humour. But when M. Villanil returned to his house he found an order for his dismissal from his office."

March 3.—A remonstrance against his unconstitutional measures was presented to the King by "El Empecinado," the chief of the guerilla leaders, a translation of which the Ambassador forwarded to Lord Castlereagh with the following words:

"The enclosed translation is well worthy of your Lordship's attention as it may be supposed to contain the sentiments of all the well-meaning part of the Nation; particularly of those who were most distinguished for their exertions in defence of the Country and in support of the King's rights."

Some passages of the remonstrance are here given:

"Your Majesty arrived amongst us after your long captivity, and we all of us congratulated each other upon the accomplishment of our wishes and of the object we had proposed to ourselves. Many Grandees of Spain and persons who held employment under Godoy hastened immediately to get possession of the mind of your Majesty; men absolutely useless who had not been of any service in the glorious contest we sustained in the honour of your Majesty and of ourselves; persons who retired to Cadiz, Ceuta and other places of safety looking down from the midst of their pleasures upon the massacre of their Brethren; some of them military men who neither lent assistance to the Nation by means of their property nor their persons—what was the object of these men in being the

first to place themselves at the feet of your Majesty? . . . They have taken your Majesty unawares and have given false intelligence; they have placed themselves at the head of a Party to gratify their private vengeance—and in the pursuit of this object, they disregard the incalculable mischief which may befall a Nation which they have never served or to which their services have been prejudicial. . . . What have they obtained?

"They have lost America, irritating the minds of its inhabitants by giving them an excuse for their conduct in the imprisonment of their Representatives who were generally men beloved by those people. They have ruined a variety of families which remain in affliction, some of them lamenting their lost husbands, others their fathers, their children, their brothers—there is scarcely a family in the Peninsula that has not to mourn a relation in the loathsomeness of some dungeon, either in the prisons of Madrid or of the Provinces, and in many places the prisons being no longer able to contain the crowd of arrested persons, the infamy of this persecution is carried to such an excess that convents are fitted up for the confinement of these supposed delinquents. It would have been better, Sire, that those who have misled the Royal mind with false pretences to adopt measures contrary to its feelings should have the chain placed about their necks. Much more deserving of it are those who to satisfy their revenge have compromised the character of their Sovereign. . . . Your Majesty will pardon any excess of which I am guilty, as I cannot contain myself when I see with what indifference such men compromise the glory of their King and Country. . . ."

The address concluded with a warning to Ferdinand that agents of Charles IV were intriguing throughout the country—working on the general discontent of the people at the repressive measures enforced by the King—to effect a rising in his favour.

The King, after reading the address, sent an order to the Council of Castile to deliberate without delay on the measures necessary for assembling the Cortes. El Empecinado[1] was ordered to repair to Valladolid and to report daily to the Captain-General at that

[1] The guerilla chief, on Ferdinand's return, had been rewarded for his immense services to his country by close imprisonment. Riego's revolt (January, 1820) set him free with other political prisoners. At the overthrow of the Constitution in 1823 he escaped to Portugal, but was subsequently captured, and after months of inhuman treatment, was executed in 1825.

place. This order was attributed to the King's displeasure at several copies of the address having been circulated in Madrid.

At the news of Bonaparte's escape from Elba on March 1st, Wellesley wrote to Lord Castlereagh:

"The intelligence of the landing of Bonaparte in France, and of his subsequent progress, seems to have excited little or no sensation in the public mind—this does not arise from any feeling more favourable to Bonaparte than formerly, but it may in some measure be attributed to the disappointment of the hopes entertained by the people that their calamities would cease upon the return of Ferdinand."

April 28.—"I have lately had several conversations with M. de Cavallos upon the state of the Government. He says that since the intelligence was received of the landing of Bonaparte in France he has never lost the opportunity of endeavouring to impress upon the King the necessity of altering his system; that he had prevailed upon him to assemble the Council of State to deliberate on the measures for maintaining the Army on the frontiers. Fifty-five thousand men have been assembled, but the Government had no means of feeding or paying them. M. de Cavallos said that as the Duke of Wellington was the best judge of what the Spanish Armies might be enabled to accomplish it was much to be wished that he would send the Government a sketch of the operations which it might be advisable for Spain to undertake in the event of the Allies entering France. . . . I really believe the Spaniards would be guided by any plan which he might suggest to them."

At the beginning of May the Spanish Government made an urgent request to Great Britain for pecuniary assistance to equip an army for the defence of the southern Provinces of France against Bonaparte. Wellesley pointed out that Spain could hardly expect help from Great Britain considering her refusal to agree to the concessions demanded by England, *viz.*, trading facilities with Spanish-America, abolition of the Slave Trade, etc., and also her refusal to give fair treatment to her political prisoners. At the same time the Ambassador expressed the opinion in a dispatch to Lord Castlereagh that unless they were assisted no effort would be made against the French. All persons who had arrived from France considered it of the greatest

importance that a Spanish Army should be sent into the Southern Provinces.

Wellesley to Castlereagh. May 21.—"On the 12th instant the Duc d'Angoulême [1] arrived here from Barcelona. . . . I waited upon H.R.H. when he entered very fully into the state of affairs in France, dwelling much upon the importance of encouraging the favourable disposition in the Southern Provinces to the cause of the Bourbons by the presence of an army. He was convinced if 40,000 men were to enter those Provinces they would instantly declare for Louis XVIII, and that this could not fail to create a powerful diversion in favour of the Allied Armies in the North. . . . This, as I expected, led to the question of whether I considered myself authorised to afford him any pecuniary assistance. I replied that I had no such authority. That if H.R.H. were in want of money for his personal expenses I should not refuse to make him an advance . . . but that even for this I had no authority and that I certainly should not be justified in advancing money on any other account."

"I . . . enclose a relation of the occurrences which took place in the south of France from March 24 to April 15, 1815. . . . In this account is included the capitulation concluded between the Duc d'Angoulême and General Grouchy[2] previously to H.R.H.'s embarkation, by which your Lordship will perceive that there is no foundation whatever for the reports so industriously circulated of the Duke . . . having engaged to surrender Marseilles and Toulon to Bonaparte and not to approach within sixty leagues of the French frontier. . . . The latter point was insisted on by Bonaparte after the capitulation had been signed, but positively rejected by the Duke . . . who even addressed a letter to Louis XVIII expressing his resolution to encounter any fate, however rigorous, rather than consent to the dishonourable terms which were proposed to him."

June 20.—A month later the Ambassador wrote on the same subject:

"It appears that the Duke of Angoulême has much reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of this Government towards himself and the French Loyalists."

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[1] Son of the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles X.
[2] In command of Southern Army, favourable to Bonaparte.

July 14.—On this date Wellesley had an audience of Ferdinand VII. He accepted the subsidy proposed by Great Britain, and the Spanish troops were ordered to advance into France, two British generals being directed to accompany the troops and to pay the subsidy. Pecuniary assistance was also rendered to the Duc d'Angoulême to enable him to enter France with a body of troops.

In a private dispatch to Castlereagh, of July 14, Wellesley wrote:

"I feel extremely obliged to Y. L. for your . . . congratulations upon my brother's victory,[1] which certainly surpasses all his other achievements. We heard yesterday of his entering Paris on the sixth, but if we are to believe the accounts which have reached Madrid, there is no feeling in Paris very favourable to the King. It is not improbable, however, that everything in favour of the King has been suppressed at Bordeaux and Bayonne, which are still in the hands of Bonaparte's officers. . . . I have availed myself of the latitude given to me to augment the Subsidiary Force to 20,000 men. . . . If the war should continue, the entrance of the Spanish troops into France may be of some use by occupying the attention of the troops forming upon the Loire."

At the beginning of August the Ambassador had an audience of the King previous to his departure for England on leave. At the interview Wellesley stated that nothing would be more gratifying to the Prince Regent than to receive an assurance that the political prisoners would be set free, and urged the King to an act of clemency towards them. The King assured the Ambassador that he felt every disposition to put an end to the confinement of these persons, which he hoped would not be of long duration.

1816.—On Sir Henry Wellesley's return to Madrid in December of this year, he found Pizarro had been appointed Minister of State. He thought that he was unfriendly to England.

Jan. 8, 1817.—In reporting to Castlereagh a conversation with M. Pizarro on the subject of the abolition of the Slave Trade, upon which the two countries had almost come to an agreement, the Ambassador said:

"Before separating from M. Pizarro I took a review of the conduct of Spain towards her ally almost from the commencement of the Revolution, but particularly since the return of the King

[1] Waterloo. June 18.

from France. I asked him whether, since the latter event, he could produce a single instance in which the Spanish Government had even shewn a disposition to concur in the policy of Great Britain, and I endeavoured to impress him with the necessity of Spain doing something to remove the impression which the conduct of his Government had made upon the British nation. He could not deny that we had much reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the Government of Spain which, however, he attributed entirely to the ill-judged policy of M Cavallos."

Jan. 15.—" Such are the exigencies of this Government that I should not be surprised if, from mere want of money, the King were to be prevailed upon to agree to the abolition of the slave trade to the extent proposed, provided the British Government would consent to the payment of the £400,000 upon the signing of the Convention. Your Lordship is too well acquainted with H.M.'s character to expect that he will be induced to consent to this measure upon any principle of justice or humanity, or from any sentiment of friendship for Great Britain, or feeling of gratitude for her past services, or from any motive whatever but personal interest. H.M.'s advisers are much of the same stamp, and are certainly not influenced by any of the considerations which have induced other States to unite their efforts to those of Great Britain to put an end to this traffic."

Jan. 20.—The Spanish Government now demanded £600,000 as the price of abolition, instead of the £400,000 first claimed. Wellesley replied that if the Spanish Government refused to treat upon the basis proposed, H.M. Government were determined not to grant any pecuniary compensation. He suggested, however, to Lord Castlereagh that a settlement might be effected if H.M. Government would agree to pay the £400,000 on the signing of the Convention instead of deferring the payment of half the sum until 1819—the time limit for the abolition in a part of the Spanish-American territory.

Wellesley to Castlereagh. March 17.—" M. Pizarro entreated me to use my utmost endeavours to prevail upon the Prince Regent's Government to accede to the terms proposed by Spain. He assured me that the capitalists of the island of Cuba had offered the King twenty millions of dollars upon the condition that the traffic in slaves

and the general trade of the island should be continued; and that if he were to propose less than £600,000 as the price of the abolition, he should infallibly lose the question in the Council of Ministers. I replied that the question would as certainly be lost in Parliament were a larger sum proposed than that which had been admitted by Spain herself to be sufficient compensation for losses, etc. . . . I tried to convince him that upon such a question it would be discreditable to the Spanish Government to receive more than was strictly required for compensation, but money has at present too many charms with this Government for such an argument to produce any effect upon it."

May 9.—". . . I have abundant reason to be satisfied that it is only by working upon its fears that anything is to be obtained from this perverse and ungrateful Government. . . . Our influence here, when we had any, was ever directed to the promotion of objects of greater importance to Spain than to ourselves; and it would be easy to prove that if she is not now in tranquil possession of her colonies and if she does not occupy the station which she ought to hold in Europe, it is owing to her own deplorable system and to her want of confidence in the only Power which has invariably supported her interests.

"With respect to our Treaty, your Lordship knows that its principal objects were to prevent Spain from throwing herself into the hands of France (of which there was considerable danger soon after the King's return) and to obtain for H.M.'s subjects trading with this country the commercial privileges which they enjoyed previously to the breaking out of the war in 1796.

". . . The system here grows daily worse, and so it will continue to do as long as persons are to be found who are contented to hold the highest offices of the State without the influence which is necessary to an honest discharge of their duties. . . . M. Pizarro has never had any influence with the King, and he is not esteemed by the public. . . .

"M. Garay (Minister of Finance) . . . in speaking of the state of the Government, said . . . that now, when a measure was proposed by a Minister, it was dismissed with a harsh negative or else reserved for the determination of the Camarilla, against the intrigues of which no Minister was secure for a moment. . . . The British Ambassador's situation is a very painful one, but how can

he expect that the King will keep his engagements with his Allies when he has failed in those which he contracted with his own subjects upon his return to his Kingdom? . . . It is not surprising that under the present system the King should have lost much of his popularity with the Army and the Nation. Within the last two years no less than six insurrections have broken out in different parts of the country."

May 29.—M. Pizarro proposed that the period for the final abolition of the Slave Trade should take place a year later than originally proposed, the Spanish Government being willing, on that condition, to accept the sum of £400,000 offered by Great Britain.

"I took this opportunity of observing to M. Pizarro that, although it was the interest of the Powers of Europe to maintain peace, the proceedings of the Minister of Finance with respect to our trade would almost justify a declaration of war, and must in any case prove a serious impediment to any good understanding between Great Britain and Spain."

Aug. 13.—The British Government, in order to bring the negotiations with Spain in respect of the abolition to a successful conclusion, acceded to her request to delay the final abolition until 1820. It was not until the end of September that the Ambassador was able to report the final settlement of the Treaty on England agreeing to pay the whole sum of £400,000 on the ratification of the Treaty.

November 18.—With reference to the negotiations being carried on by the Ambassador in the matter of the proposed mediation of Great Britain between Spain and the United States, Wellesley writes to Lord Castlereagh:

"One would infer from the manner in which our communications upon Spanish affairs are received here, that the Spanish Government imagine they are conferring favours upon us by employing us in their concerns. . . .

"The observations contained in this letter do not in any manner apply to the Spanish Nation, which entertains very different sentiments with respect to Great Britain; and I am persuaded that this would be strongly manifested in the event of any serious misunderstanding between the two countries."

1818. *September* 10.—"Nothing can be worse than the state of this country. The discontent is daily gaining ground and begins to affect the King's popularity. . . . There has been a serious insurrection among the troops at Corunna, which have not been paid for several months nor even supplied with daily rations."

September 15.—"I did not think that in my next despatch I should have to announce a change in the Spanish Ministry. M. Pizarro, Minister of State, M. Garay, Minister of Finance, and M. Figuerca, Minister of Marine, have been dismissed from their offices and are succeeded by the Marquis of Casa Frijo, Don Joseph Imaz, Director-General of Rents, and General Cimeros, Commandant-General of the Marine at Cadiz. H.C.M. has not been satisfied with the mere dismissal of these, his late Ministers. A Royal Order was conveyed to them at 11 o'clock last night to deliver up the papers of their respective departments, and to repair forthwith—M. Pizarro to Valencia, M. Garay to Aragon, and M. Figuerca to Galicia—and they were actually on the road to the places of their destination at 4 o'clock this morning. . . . The influence of the Queen[1] was exerted to the utmost in favour of the three Ministers, and its failure seems to have destroyed the hopes that were entertained of better times from her supposed ascendancy over the King's mind. . . . I cannot flatter myself that any advantage will result from these new appointments. . . . It is hardly to be expected that any individual under the constant apprehension of the fate of M. Pizarro, or perhaps something worse, would venture to give full scope to his abilities."

September 16.—"It would be an unpardonable waste of time to inquire into the justice of the reproaches of the Spanish Government for our want of zeal and exertion on behalf of Spanish interests, but it may be worth while to examine what H.C.M. has done to entitle him to the confidence of the Prince Regent's Government. To say nothing of the Treaty of Valençay, by which we were to be driven out of the country, his first act upon his return to Spain, after annulling the Constitution, was the imprisonment or banishment of many of the persons most distinguished for their patriotism and services during the war, and for their attachment to Great Britain; nor could this be prevented by my remonstrances, or even

[1] Isabel of Braganza, whom Ferdinand had married soon after his return to Spain.

by those of the Duke of Wellington, repeatedly urged, to induce H.M. to adopt a more lenient system. Since that period the Spanish Government has resorted to the only mode which remained to them of injuring us, *viz.*, by the most unjust, arbitrary and vexatious proceedings with respect to our commerce, and these have been carried to an excess which has compelled many of our most respectable merchants to quit the country. With the single exception of the abolition of the slave trade, I know of no one Act of the Spanish Government since the King's return which can give them a claim to our confidence, and while they are aware that our assistance is absolutely necessary to them, their misrepresentations of our proceedings where their interests are concerned, evidently prove their want of confidence in us."

December 21.—" As far as I can judge, it appears to be the object of the Government to endeavour to settle their differences with Portugal and to try the effect of the expedition[1] to South America, now preparing at Cadiz, before they again have recourse to the mediation of the Allies. They must be convinced, notwithstanding the Duke of Richelieu's[2] assertion that we have not enough of the confidence of Spain to lead her successfully, that Great Britain is the only Power which can afford her effectual assistance. But she will not seek this assistance, or consent to receive it, in the only way it can be afforded by Great Britain, until she has tried what can be done by this last effort in which she is exhausting every resource which can by any means be made available."

At the end of this year the Queen of Spain (Princess Isabel of Braganza) died in giving birth to a daughter, who also died. The Queen left no children.

Wellesley to Castlereagh. March 4, 1819.—" It is supposed that the King has been advised by those most in his confidence to marry again immediately, and he is disposed to follow this advice."

June 14.—In announcing the dismissal of the Marquess of Casa Inigo from the office of Secretary of State, the Ambassador wrote :

[1] This was an attempt on the part of Spain to reconquer her revolted colonies. It was very unpopular, the Army being unwilling to fight against men of Spanish blood.

[2] French statesman. Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1815. Afterwards President of the Council.

"I consider the late Minister to be entirely blameless. His chief endeavour during his continuance in office was to avoid all responsibility, and he carried this so far that in the end he furnished his enemies with the means of effecting his downfall.

"Upon the arrival of the Treaty with the United States" [for the cession of the Floridas],[1] "the Marquess of Casa Inigo carried it to the King, who directed that it should immediately be ratified. The Minister, however, with a view of absolving himself from all responsibility, desired that it might be submitted to the Council of State. . . . The Treaty was vehemently opposed by some of its members, and the King was at length persuaded to send his Minister into exile. . . . I have very little doubt, however, that the Treaty will be ratified; and the language that will be held will be that the King could not in honour refuse to abide by a Treaty which had been signed by his plenipotentiary, but that he so much disapproved of its conditions that he had disgraced those of his Ministers (namely, M. Pizarro and the Marquess of Casa Inigo) who had prepared and issued the instructions under which it was negociated. . . . With all the experience I have had of the mismanagement of public affairs in this country, I have never before seen the Government in the desperate state it is in at present. The person in charge of the business of the Foreign Department" [M. Salmon] "has two most important negociations upon his hands, and yet it is his avowed object (nor can he be blamed for it) to keep clear of any measure for which he may be rendered responsible, and to get rid of his situation as soon as he can, happy if he can escape imprisonment or exile. I am assured that M. Lozano de Torres, who is now the King's principal adviser, is ignorant even of the geographical positions of the countries which form the principal objects of the negociations with Portugal and with the United States, and it may be doubted whether the King himself is much better informed upon these subjects. The desperate state of affairs is the general topic of conversation, but among the persons who surround the King there is no one who dares venture to open his eyes to the situation of his Government.

"A circumstance which has excited a good deal of ridicule has been the exile, about the same time as the Marquess of Casa Inigo, of one of the principal actors at the Theatre who, after a

[1] In this year, owing to his need of money, Ferdinand offended the national sentiment of Spain by selling the Floridas to the United States.

seven days' illness, was directed by the Corregidor to return to his duties at the Theatre, but stated that he was not sufficiently recovered. . . . He has consequently been judged deserving of the same punishment as the Minister of State!"

September 13.—"It is confidently stated that the expedition" [to South America] "is to put to sea before the end of this month, and seeing no hope of an amicable arrangement of the differences between Spain and Portugal . . . I venture to suggest the expediency of the Conference at Paris coming to some resolutions expressive of the determination of the Allied Powers not to suffer the peace of Europe to be disturbed. . . . There is no act, however extravagant, of which this Government is not capable, and I should not be at all surprised if, at some future period, a determination should be taken to invade Portugal, a measure which would probably be popular throughout the Spanish Nation."

November 11.—Owing to a serious outbreak of yellow fever at Cadiz, the Expeditionary Force was unable to sail, as intended, at the end of September, and in November was said to be reduced to 15,000 men, "more owing to desertion than to sickness," but was expected to sail at the end of the month.

January 24, 1820.—At the beginning of this year there was an insurrection in the Army, and the insurgents got possession of a large part of the stores for the Expedition.

Wellesley to Castlereagh. "The King has lately made his appearance in public. . . . He is much affected by the state of things in Andalusia. . . . With regard to the public feeling, with the exception of persons about the Court, nine out of ten of the inhabitants wish well to the insurgents. Besides the unwillingness to embark for America, there is certainly throughout the Spanish Army (including both officers and men) a strong feeling of contempt and dislike of the Government, and if the insurgents, instead of proclaiming the Constitution (which has never been popular in the country) had been satisfied that the King should fulfil his promises to the Nation, they would in all probability have been joined by the people."

By March the insurgents had gained possession of Galicia, the Conde de Abisbal had joined the rebels, and fears were entertained for the safety of Madrid, the disaffection having spread to the King's

Ferdinand VII, King of Spain.

From the picture by Goya. (*El Prado, Madrid.*)

Body Guard. A Royal Decree was at last issued for assembling the Cortes.

Wellesley to Castlereagh. March 7.—" Your Lordship will learn with surprise that the King has, within these two hours, accepted the Constitution of 1812, as it would appear without any reservation whatever.

" The Decree was received by the public and by the officers and troops of the Garrison with strong expressions of disappointment, and from the reports which reached the Palace there was every reason to apprehend a general insurrection throughout the city in the course of the night. Under these alarming circumstances the King was of opinion that nothing remained for him but to accept the Constitution."

March 13.—" It can no longer be doubted that the insurrection in Andalusia was part of a fixed plan in which nearly the whole Spanish Army was concerned, and that all the operations of the insurgents were influenced in a great degree by communications from their numerous partisans in Madrid."

After the King's Decree announcing his acceptance of the Constitution of 1812, the people of Madrid became suspicious of a counter-revolution, and demanded that the King should take the oath to the Constitution.

" The mob and a part of the Garrison were excited to assemble in a tumultuous manner before the Palace. . . . The King received a deputation from the people and agreed to everything that was required to him. After taking the oath . . . ' before a Provisional Junta composed of persons possessing the confidence of the people,' as is stated in the *Extraordinary Gazette* of the ninth, he appeared at a window of the Palace, when he signified his having complied with the wishes of the people, and asked if anything further was required of him. He was received with cheers, and the populace then dispersed.

" At present the town is quiet, but there are so many evil-disposed persons among its present inhabitants, and there is, in general, so strong a tendency to suspect the sincerity of the King, that I doubt whether any long continuance of tranquillity is to be expected. Among other endeavours to excite disturbances, it was

asserted that the Duke of Wellington was in my house, and that 30,000 British troops were upon the frontier of Portugal ready to enter Spain and to support the King against the Constitution. . . .

"It must certainly be admitted that unless the King had made reasonable concessions the insurrection would, in a few days, have been general throughout Spain; but there seem not to have been sufficient motives for the sudden and unconditional acceptance of a Constitution which, under its present form, has been proved upon trial to be little suited to Spain, and which has, therefore, been condemned by all classes of the community except the framers of it. . . . An order has been issued for the release of all those who are in confinement for their political opinions as well as for the return of all those who, from similar causes, have taken refuge in a foreign country."

April 6.—". . . The state of this country is certainly most critical. The King's authority, or rather, that of the Provisional Junta, can scarcely be said to extend beyond the two Castiles. Independent Governments are established in the provinces of Valencia, Catalonia, Aragon and Galicia. . . . In the meantime the King is apparently determined to acquiesce in everything that is demanded of him—he has already made many concessions, and it is to be apprehended that by the time the Cortes meet, he will have nothing left to concede."

On July 9, the Cortes assembled, and the King took the oath to the Constitution. His speech on the occasion was well received. Later in the month, however, the King was suspected of being concerned with some of his Generals in a counter-plot.

In August, the Cortes decreed the extinction of the Order of the Jesuits, and in September they passed a Decree for the suppression of all monasteries with landed estates, the money derived from the sale of such estates to be applied to the liquidation of the National Debt.

October 23.—The King, in hesitating to give his consent to the suppression of convents, was approached by his Ministers and assured that the authorities could not answer for the tranquillity of the town if H.M. delayed his sanction beyond that day.

Wellesley to Castlereagh. "Setting aside all inquiry whether the Law for the Suppression of Monasteries be adopted or not, the means which have been resorted to in order to obtain the King's

acquiescence are certainly most unjustifiable. He was solely induced to sanction it by the apprehension that his life was in danger from the fury of the troops and of the populace, but in this he was grossly deceived."

The King refused to return to Madrid to close the Cortes on November 11, the Royal Speech being read by the President.

December 11.—" The Spanish Minister spoke to me yesterday for the first time of the condition to which this country was brought by the conduct of the King. It appears from what he said that if the King had acted with common faith to his Ministers, much progress would already have been made towards reforming the Constitution."

The above is the last official conversation which Wellesley had with the Spanish Government before resigning his post and returning to England. He was succeeded by Sir William A'Court.[1] Wellesley's next appointment was to Vienna, as will be seen from his Diary quoted in the following chapter.

[1] Afterwards Lord Heytesbury.

AUSTRIA.—1822-1823

I

Suicide of Castlereagh—Canning at the Foreign Office—Wellesley's reception in Vienna—Comments on Metternich and Canning—Metternich on Spain—Metternich on the Greek Rising—Wellesley on Metternich, and Viennese opinion of British Policy—Canning on the pretensions of Metternich—Interview arranged between Emperors of Austria and Russia—Monsieur de Gentz—Russia insists on Turkish evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia—Comments on Tatistcheff—Report on Emperors' Conference.

The attention of the Great Powers of Europe was now occupied by the Eastern question and Spanish affairs. In March, 1821, Hypsilanti, a Greek in the Russian Army, headed an outbreak of Greek patriots against the Turks. Hypsilanti was repudiated by the Czar, but Russian ambitions were set against Turkey. The Eastern question then became a divided one—Russian quarrels with Turkey being superimposed on Greek disturbances and fight for independence. Metternich, Austria's Chancellor, was opposed to any Russian annexation of Turkish territory, and the situation between Austria, Russia and Turkey became a delicate one.

In 1820, Ferdinand VII of Spain had been deposed and made a prisoner by the Government after the Liberal leader's, General Riego's, successful revolt, and the proclamation of the Constitution of 1812. Ferdinand, however, was restored to power by the French, who sent an army across the Pyrenees under the Duc d'Angoulême, in 1823. French intervention was approved by Metternich and the Czar, but opposed by Canning. Metternich resented Canning's policy, and their dislike was mutual. The position, when Wellesley arrived at Vienna, required great tact.

1821. *Diary.*—I left Madrid at the beginning of the year 1821, and proceeded to Paris, where I arrived just at the time of the the christening of the Duc de Bordeaux.[1] The ceremony, which was conducted with great pomp, took place in the church of Notre

[1] Son of the Duc de Berry (second son of Charles X.)

Dame, and was attended by the whole of the Royal Family, the Court and the members of the Corps Diplomatique, who went there in state. I accompanied Lord Stuart, our Ambassador.

After remaining a few days at Paris, I continued my journey to England. I continued in England until the beginning of the year 1823.

1822.—Lord Londonderry promised that I should be appointed to the first vacant Embassy. He particularly wished that I should succeed his brother, Lord Stewart, at Vienna, who it was thought would soon give up that situation. In the course of 1822 Lord Londonderry, his mind completely broken by his harassing Parliamentary duties, put an end to his existence. This was the greatest calamity which could have befallen the country, particularly with reference to our foreign relations, and one from which it has never recovered. He was replaced at the Foreign Office by Mr. Canning, contrary to the opinion and wishes of George the Fourth. Lord Liverpool declared, however, that unless he was appointed, the Government would break up, and he employed the Duke of Wellington to press his appointment upon the King. The King resisted for some days, and when at last compelled to acquiesce, said to the Duke of Wellington: "Very well, gentlemen, since you are determined to have him, take him in God's name, but remember I tell you he will throw you all overboard"—a prophecy which was completely fulfilled a few years afterwards.

The King told Mr. Canning that he had reserved Vienna for me whenever Lord Stewart should resign, and he made no objection to this arrangement. As soon as Lord Stewart heard of Canning's appointment to succeed his brother, he sent in his resignation, and Canning immediately wrote me a very kind letter, saying that he was glad to fulfil the King's wishes and also to follow his own inclinations by appointing me to the vacancy.

Soon after, the Duke of Wellington was sent as Plenipotentiary to the Congress of Verona. The disturbed state of Spain, which was deemed dangerous to the rest of Europe, was the principal subject discussed there, and it was settled by the four Powers—France, Austria, Russia and Prussia (although strongly opposed by the Duke of Wellington, under instructions from Canning)—that France should send an army into the Peninsula for the purpose of restoring order. Another subject was the insurrection in Greece,

upon which, however, nothing was settled at Verona as to the future course of proceeding of the Allies.

Canning was exceedingly incensed at the resolution taken at Verona with respect to Spain, and if he had met with the least encouragement from his colleagues in office, would have declared war rather than have suffered it. He made a most imprudent speech in the House of Commons, in which he said that it would be the policy of England to maintain a strict neutrality, but that he heartily wished success to the Spaniards. This gave great offence to the Allied Courts, and rendered him an object of dislike and suspicion to them all.

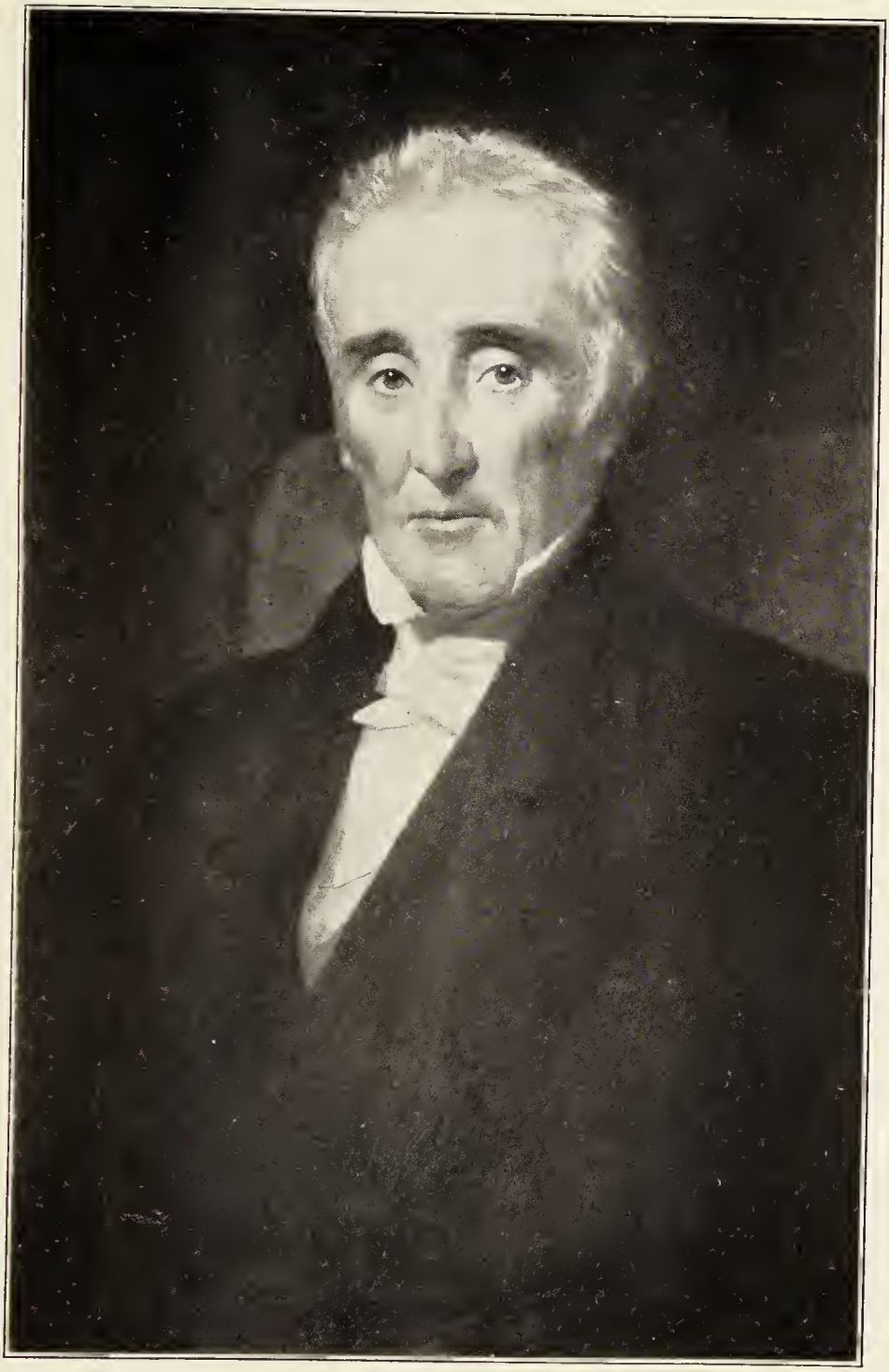
I left London for Vienna, in the month of March, 1823, and as I was to go through Paris, Canning charged me with a communication to M. Chateaubriand, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, relative to the projected expedition to Spain. In the last conversation I had with him he told me that if his opinion had prevailed in the Cabinet we should have gone to war rather than have allowed this expedition to proceed.

I had two long conversations with M. Chateaubriand at Paris, who told me that the proceedings in Spain were of such a nature as to be dangerous to all Europe, but particularly to France; that for his own part he felt that the very existence of the Bourbon dynasty in France was compromised; that he could show me documents which proved the existence of a dangerous conspiracy between the disaffected in France, who were very numerous, and the revolutionists in Spain; that he was perfectly aware of the difficulties attending the enterprise, and that it might fail, but still he felt it to be absolutely necessary to the preservation of the existing order of things in France, and he concluded by saying: "Que voulez-vous, nous avons mis tout sur une carte, mais nous sommes résolus de tenter l'entreprise."

I wrote all this to Canning, and after remaining a fortnight at Paris, continued my journey to Vienna.

I was extremely well received both by the Emperor Francis and by Prince Metternich. At my first audience the Emperor said that as soon as he was apprised of Lord Stewart's resignation he had desired Metternich to write to Prince Esterhazy[1] to say how agreeable my appointment to succeed him would be to H.I.M.,

[1] Austrian Ambassador in England.



Gerald Valerian Wellesley, D.D.

From the picture (painter unknown) in the Collection of the Duke of Wellington.

and this before he knew that I was destined to be his successor. He then took some papers out of his pocket and said that in order to show his disposition to treat me with confidence, he should waive the ceremony of a first audience and instruct me upon some point which he wished me to press upon my Court. I forget what the subject [1] was in which he was interested, but I of course expressed myself to be highly honoured and gratified by the kindness of my reception and by the confidence which H.I.M. was disposed to place in me.

During the first fortnight I had many long conversations with Prince Metternich, relating principally to the state of Europe, to the projected expedition to Spain, which he lamented was opposed by the British Government, and also to the provisions of the Congress of 1815, which he described as most difficult, since it was almost impossible to satisfy the claims and pretensions of the different Powers whose representatives were there assembled. With Russia the difficulties were almost insurmountable, and were the cause of a quarrel between the Emperor Alexander and Prince Metternich, and he related to me the following curious anecdote. He said that the Emperor was so exasperated at the opposition he met with, particularly from Prince Metternich, that he determined to make a personal quarrel of it. That with this view he went one day to the Emperor Francis and said that he considered Prince Metternich to be as good a gentleman as himself, that the point of honour was everything to him, and that the conduct of the Prince had been so offensive to him personally that he was resolved to call him out, and that he thought it due to the Emperor Francis to apprise him of his intention.

Francis replied that could Prince Metternich be aware of it, he was sure he would be flattered by the honour intended him by H.I.M., but that he must be aware that he (Francis) could not suffer his Minister to accept such a challenge and that he therefore required of H.I.M. to give him his word of honour that he would abandon this intention. Alexander was obliged to give this assurance, but for several months after he never spoke to Prince Metternich or took any notice of him, although they were in the habit of meeting in the same society every night. This was carried to such an

[1] The fresh upheaval in Spain. The Cortes had declared Ferdinand VII to be of unsound mind, had forcibly conveyed him to Madrid and had appointed a Regency. The Emperor Francis trusted that Great Britain would not countenance such an act of violence.

extent that at last Metternich himself ceased to notice the Emperor when he came into the room. This went on until the arrival of the intelligence of Bonaparte's escape from Elba and landing in France. Metternich lost no time in conveying the intelligence to the Emperor who, when he was apprised of it, said : ' You will, without losing a moment, carry the intelligence to the Emperor Alexander and tell him that I shall instantly give directions for marching the whole of my disposable force to the frontier of France, and that I hope that he will do the same.' This was at a very early hour of the morning. Of course Alexander was obliged to receive a messenger from the Emperor of Austria. At first he was very cold and formal, but as soon as he was made acquainted with the news, he desired Metternich to assure the Emperor of his perfect concurrence in his opinions of what was necessary to be done, and that not a moment should be lost in putting his army in motion. He then entered into an explanation with Prince Metternich of his personal grievances, which ended by their embracing, and they became so intimate that Alexander never took any step without consulting him, and this confidence in him was continued quite up to the period of my arrival in Vienna.

But although the Emperor [Francis] and Prince Metternich showed every disposition to confide in me, yet my situation was not a little embarrassing owing to the enmity existing between Canning and Metternich, which broke out upon all occasions. I have already said that the Governments of the Great Powers were disgusted with his speech upon the French Expedition into Spain, and almost his first step after that expedition had taken the field was to acknowledge the independence of the Spanish Colonies. It was the object of the Continental Powers that the Plenipotentiaries of the five Powers should meet at Paris or at London, and should propose, in their joint names, to Spain to take the initiative in acknowledging the independence of her Colonies, and that if she declined doing so, each Power should be at liberty to act in this matter as it should think fit. But Canning would not hear of any delay, nor would he consult with any of the Allies. The consequence was that he became odious to every Court in Europe, and contributed much to weaken that harmony and good understanding which had prevailed among them from the period of the peace of 1815.

Here the Diary ends.

1823.—*Wellesley to Canning.*—In a dispatch written early in July, Wellesley gave Canning an account of an interview with Prince Metternich on Spanish affairs.

"To whatever causes, he said, the Revolution was to be attributed, a system had grown up there which was dangerous to Europe generally and particularly to France, the immediate neighbour of Spain. The Austrian Government had never urged France to take up arms for the purpose of putting down this system, but France having felt such a measure to be necessary to her own safety, it followed as a necessary principle that no negociation should be entered into with the Cortes as a Power or political body, and this had been strongly enforced by Austria, backed by Russia and Prussia. . . . He then proceeded to remark upon the Provisional Government established at Madrid, disapproving the manner in which it had at first been constituted, which left it so entirely under the control of France as to render some explanation necessary before the Allies could consent to send their Ministers to reside at Madrid. The members composing the Regency had required assurances that they would be supported by all the great Continental Powers before they would consent to establish themselves as a Government, and the King of Naples had, through his Ambassador at Paris, put in his claim to be Regent of the Kingdom during the King's captivity, and as he could not proceed to Madrid in person, had offered to delegate his power to his Allies; it had therefore been necessary to define what were the powers and attributes of the Provisional Government, and this had been done in the form of a protocol containing certain provisions to which the King of Naples had acceded and which removed any objection which the Allies—Austria, Russia and Prussia—had at first felt to accrediting their Ministers to this Government. . . . There is no doubt that a jealousy was entertained that the French Government meant to exercise a control over the Provisional Government to the exclusion of the other Powers, and that the King of Naples was put forward by Austria for the purpose of counteracting these views."

In a private letter of July 6, Wellesley said:

"Metternich seems determined not to allow the French to establish any influence at Madrid which may be troublesome hereafter. He appears to have a strong dislike to M. de Villèle"

[French Prime Minister] "who, he says, is entirely in the hands of Madame de Cayla" [favourite of Louis XVIII], "with whom he passes three or four hours daily; and he represents this lady as more rapacious and extravagant than any of the mistresses during the days of Louis XIV and XV."

Wellesley to Canning. July 20.—"Prince Metternich has put into my hands all the papers relative to the discussions pending between Russia and the Porte. . . . He does not concur in opinion with Lord Strangford" [British Ambassador at Constantinople] "that any advantage would arise at the present moment from the establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and the Porte by sending a Russian Minister to Constantinople. He thinks that until the pretensions of Russia, relative to the trade in the Black Sea (which he considers to be perfectly just, and indeed, founded upon Treaties) be acknowledged, the presence of a Diplomatic Agent at Constantinople, so far from producing any good effects, would tend to increase the irritation at present existing between the two Cabinets, and that the refusal on the part of the Porte to comply with the just demands of Russia, were they to be made through an Agent upon the spot, would lead to an immediate rupture. . . .

"Prince Metternich considers a reconciliation between the Turkish Government and its Grecian Provinces as no longer capable of being effected by diplomatic intervention, but asserts that the Emperor of Russia, from the breaking out of the insurrection up to the present period, has not only afforded unequivocal proofs of his disapproval of it, but even offered his intervention at a moment when, if it had been accepted by the Turkish Government, would in all probability have led to the re-establishment of a good understanding between the Porte and those valuable provinces. He is now of opinion, however, that in endeavouring to reconcile the differences subsisting between the Porte and Russia, the question of Greece should be entirely set aside and the efforts of the Allies confined to obtaining from the Turkish Government the redress of those commercial grievances complained of by Russia, and for which redress must be granted before the Emperor will consent to place his diplomatic relations with the Porte upon their old footing."

August 7.—"With respect to the disturbances in Greece, Prince Metternich declares it to be the opinion of the Austrian Cabinet

that the state of Greece being a question of general interest to Europe, a settlement ought not to be left exclusively to Russia, but that upon the return of a Russian Minister to Constantinople, the Allies should take upon themselves to consider and determine upon the measures necessary to be adopted for the tranquillisation of that country. He contends, indeed, that there is no other mode of proceeding which holds out so fair a hope of preventing a rupture between Russia and the Porte."

August 16.—"Prince Metternich, while approving the line of conduct which his Lordship" [Lord Strangford] "proposes to adopt, lamented to me in strong terms the obstacles thrown in the way of his negociations by the proceedings of the City of London, and of the other meetings held in the Metropolis, with the object of assisting the Greek insurgents, and by the conduct of their agents upon the spot, who were everywhere exciting the Greeks to persevere in their rebellion, and to resist all proposals of accommodation from the Porte, short of a formal acknowledgment of their independence.

"Among the individuals engaged in this way, he noticed Lord Byron, who, he said, had lately embarked from Italy with officers, arms, stores, etc., avowedly for the purpose of assisting the Greeks."

August 27.—"It is impossible to converse with Prince Metternich and not to see that his great ambition is to place himself at the head of the politics of the Continent. He considers himself, and wishes to be considered by others, as the champion of old systems, and the great opposer of innovation throughout Europe. He prides himself upon his dexterity in having got complete possession of the Emperor of Russia and of the King of Prussia; and the Ministers of those Sovereigns, as well as the French Ambassador at this Court, are devoted to his politics, and to himself personally.

"He is certainly not satisfied by the line taken by Great Britain upon the Spanish question, although upon being pressed upon that subject, he admits that we could not do otherwise than maintain a strict neutrality. He maintains, however, that the speeches of both Houses of Parliament upon the Spanish question (with the exception of the Duke of Buckingham's) are calculated to uphold the cause of revolution, and indicate a policy on the part of H.M.G. different from that which directed the several Treaties entered into at the termination of the war.

"I have endeavoured to make him understand . . . that no set of Ministers could expect to remain at the head of affairs if they did not take care that their language in Parliament accorded in some degree at least with the feelings of the people. That in the very case of Spain the Government were from the first determined to observe a strict neutrality, but that if they had confined themselves in Parliament to a dry declaration to that effect . . . without joining in the general disapprobation of the invasion of Spain by France expressed throughout the Nation, they would have lost many of their supporters in Parliament, a loss which, upon a question of such importance, might very possibly have led to a change of Government. If then, as it appeared, he had no fault to find with the acts of the Government, he ought not to quarrel with them for their language in Parliament. . . .

August 27. *Wellesley to Canning. Private.*—"This is the substance of several conversations I have had with Prince Metternich respecting the conduct of H.M.'s Government upon the Spanish question. . . . It is evident that both he and those who are influenced by him are of opinion that the policy of the British Nation is no longer what it was previous to the peace, and that the public meetings, subscriptions and active interference of individuals in aid of revolutions, wherever revolution is to be met with in Europe, betray on the part of the British public a disposition hostile to the old governments and systems of the Continent, which began to manifest itself at the termination of the war and has ever since been gaining strength. The decline of Lord Strangford's influence at Constantinople is urged as a proof that unless measures can be adopted for checking these proceedings in favour of revolution, Great Britain must necessarily lose much of her influence upon the Continent, as it must be the business of every State to guard itself against a mischief which it appears cannot be controlled by the government of the country from which it proceeds.

"I hope you will not disapprove my having communicated to you confidentially the opinions held here which I have thought fitter to be stated in a private letter than in a public dispatch."

September 16. *Canning to Wellesley.*—In reply to this letter Canning wrote:

". . . The pretensions of Prince Metternich in respect of this

George Canning.

From the picture by Sir Thomas Lawrence in the National Portrait Gallery.

country appear to me perfectly unreasonable ; they must be founded on some strange misconception of our obligations, our interests and our feelings.

" Our obligations, I presume, are to be found in public treaties, making part of the law of Europe ; or in diplomatic transactions between Court and Court. I am at a loss to discover in any one of those documents of either kind . . . any obligation binding this country either to interfere herself, or to assist, abet or approve the interference of any other Powers by force or by menace, in the internal concerns of independent nations. The specific engagement to interfere in *France*, in the specific case of an attempt upon the Throne of that Kingdom by, or in behalf of any branch of Bonaparte's family, is the single exception of which I am aware ; and it is an exception so studiously particularised as to prove the rule. . . .

" In my construction of our subsisting obligations towards each other, I conceive Austria to be bound to take care, in common with her Allies, that no permanent encroachment is made on the national independence of Spain, and no permanent aggrandisement acquired by France, in consequence of her forcible interposition. . . .

" If we have been neutral between France and Spain, it is not because we admitted the war to be the natural fruit of the Alliance; but because, in a war between two nations, with both of which we are in amity, and to neither of which we are bound by any obligation to take part with them, it was our *interest* to take no part at all. But it *would* be our interest to prevent the aggrandisement of France at the expense of Spain ; and to that object we acknowledge ourselves to be pledged, and contend that Austria and Russia and Prussia are pledged, equally with ourselves, by the Alliance. . . .

" Now, as to our influence upon the Continent, if such a war as we sustained for (with a slight interruption) a quarter of a century, in behalf of all Europe, and by turns *against* all Europe in *its own behalf*, has not taught all Europe where they are to look for protection against overgrown and overbearing power, I am sure no part we could take in a Congress upon an insurrection of Carbonari at Naples, or of Freemasons at Madrid, would acquire for us a confidence which such a war had failed to command. . . .

" If Prince Metternich has taught himself to believe that the House of Commons is merely a clog and impediment to the free action of the Councillors of the Crown . . . he is mistaken. It is as essential a part of the national council as it is of the national

authority—and woe be to the Minister who should undertake to conduct the affairs of this country upon the principle of settling the course of its foreign policy with a Grand Alliance, and should rely upon carrying *their* decisions into effect, by throwing a little dust in the eyes of the House of Commons! . . . In the case of Spain . . . the views of the Government were at once adopted by Parliament and have proved to be *exactly* conformable to the feeling of the Nation. Prince Metternich would greatly deceive himself if he imagined that it was neutrality only, and not the motives on which that neutrality was founded, and the qualifications with which it was accompanied that Parliament and the Nation approved. . . .

"Prince Metternich seems to think that there is no security for peace between nations unless every nation is at peace within itself; and that pure monarchy is the charm on which such internal tranquillity depends. *We* think that the harmony of the political world is no more destroyed by the variety of civil institutions in different States than that of the physical world by the different magnitudes of the bodies which constitute the system. 'There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the stars,' and so forth: but Prince Metternich seems to be of opinion that all should be alike—he is even for trying his hand upon *us*—to make our glory as like to that of the sun and moon of the Continent as possible—but he had better leave us quiet in our sphere, or we shall make most inharmonious music.

"The Austrian Minister prides himself, you say, upon being the champion and protector of ancient institutions, and the sworn and irreconcilable enemy of revolution. I flatter myself that I am no more a lover of revolution than Prince Metternich; and I have certainly passed near thirty years in fighting for old institutions in that House of Commons which Prince Metternich views with so much jealousy—but in which and by which, after all, revolution has been arrested and what remain of old institutions saved. . . ."

September 4. *Wellesley to Canning.*—"I have received from Prince Metternich a confirmation of a report . . . of an interview to take place shortly between the Emperors of Austria and of Russia.[1] The Austrian Minister . . . was at great pains to impress upon me, and was particularly anxious that it should be explained to H.M.'s Government, that no political object was connected with this

[1] The meeting took place at Czernowitz.

meeting, and that the motive for it was purely one of private friendship. . . . But . . . he has nevertheless availed himself of it in order to intimidate the Ottoman Government, as will be seen by his instructions to the Internuncio. . . . He is of opinion that Lord Strangford's note of August 10, together with this interview and the Emperor's review of his army on the Turkish Frontier, must necessarily produce an impression favourable to the views of the Allies, and he accordingly instructs M. d'Ottenfels[1] to omit no opportunity of impressing upon the Ottoman Government the danger of their situation and the necessity as the only means of averting it, of a prompt acquiescence in the just claims of Russia.

September 13.—"A courier arrived a few days ago with despatches from the Austrian Minister at St. Petersburg, bringing the answer of the Russian Cabinet to Prince Metternich's proposal of separating the questions of difference between Russia and the Porte, for the purpose of accelerating the return of a Russian Minister to Constantinople. Prince Metternich says that the answer is satisfactory, inasmuch as it expresses the Emperor Alexander's disposition to concur in this purpose. There is one part, however, which may occasion some difficulty, *viz.*, the renewal of the pretension for the immediate evacuation of the Principalities" [of Moldavia and Wallachia] "by the Turkish troops. The Austrian Minister hopes by the influence of Lord Strangford at Constantinople, and his own influence with the Emperor of Russia, to get over the difficulty. He thinks that Lord Strangford may be enabled to prevail upon the Ottoman Government to signify their readiness to withdraw their troops by placing strongly before the Emperor of Russia the responsibility which he would incur by insisting upon this condition (the tranquillity of the Principalities being solely maintained by the presence of the Turkish troops). He hopes that H.I.M. may be brought to consent to their remaining there. He has written to this effect to Baron d'Ottenfels, with directions to communicate his despatches to Lord Strangford."

September 22.—"The person . . . most in the confidence of Prince Metternich is Monsieur de Gentz.[2] No step of importance

[1] The Internuncio; Austrian Representative at Constantinople.

[2] Frederick von Gentz, a Prussian statesman and political writer, and a strong opponent of the French Revolution. He was secretary to the Congress of Vienna in 1814 when he helped to draw up the compact for the Holy Alliance; assisted at the Treaty of Paris, 1815; was present at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818; of Laybach, 1821; and of Verona, 1821. He died in 1832.

is taken by the Austrian Minister without consulting this gentleman, and I have reason to believe that directions were left with him to communicate with me upon the arrival of the messenger from Constantinople. He is a strong advocate of peace, and I have therefore had no hesitation in making him acquainted with the contents of Lord Strangford's dispatches, which he thought were calculated to produce the best effect at Czernowitz. . . .

"Monsieur de Gentz is one of those who have felt most uneasiness at the unwillingness manifested by the Porte to concede anything to the just demands of Russia. He says that for the last three months the temper of the Russian Cabinet has been in the highest degree alarming, and that this was the true motive for the meeting at Czernowitz; that the Emperor Alexander is personally desirous of avoiding a war, but that such is the feeling throughout Russia that he doubts whether the influence of the Emperor of Austria and of Prince Metternich would have been sufficient to have prevented a war unless the Porte had been induced through Lord Strangford's exertions to adopt a more conciliatory policy than that by which it has of late been guided."

Lord Strangford's efforts to pave the way to an understanding between Russia and the Porte seemed to be successful. In a private letter to Bagot[1] (October 14) Wellesley says:

"Strangford's dispatches of the 25th ult. passed through Vienna a few days ago. It appears by them that his negociations have been completely successful and must, I suppose, be followed by the renewal of the diplomatic relations between Russia and the Porte. . . . How ably Strangford has conducted his negociations! He has not escaped, however, without two or three sharp raps upon the knuckles from our chief."

Canning had meanwhile (October 11) expressed to Wellesley the opinion that if the concessions obtained by Lord Strangford were realised, British engagements to Russia and the Alliance would be fulfilled. The Emperor of Russia could not expect the British Embassy to be "permanently and indefinitely the mere substitute for Russian diplomacy," and "British interests have now for three years been postponed to the more pressing desire of preserving peace between the Porte and her powerful neighbour." If then,

[1] Sir Charles Bagot, Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

" the Russian Mission does not thereupon follow, Lord Strangford has done his utmost, and having exhausted those instructions which were received alike at Vienna and St. Petersburg as leaving nothing to be desired, he has nothing more to do."

Wellesley to Canning. October 22.—" Letters have been received to-day from Prince Metternich dated the 17th inst., at Lemberg. Count Nesselrode[1] had arrived at that place on the 14th and continued there on the 17th. Before his departure from Czernowitz, he had addressed a letter to Lord Strangford . . . expressive of the Emperor Alexander's satisfaction at the success of his Lordship's negociations upon the commercial question, and announcing H.I.M.'s intention of sending Monsieur Minciaky without delay to Constantinople.

" It appears . . . that the Russian Cabinet still insist upon the entire evacuation of the Principalities " [Moldavia and Wallachia] " by the Ottoman troops. This concession on the part of the Ottoman Government is urged to Lord Strangford both by Prince Metternich and by Count Nesselrode as necessary to the complete re-establishment of the diplomatic relations between Russia and the Porte, and I apprehend one of the principal objects of M. Minciaky's mission is to convince Lord Strangford of this necessity."

October 27.—" I confess that I am quite at a loss to account for Metternich's conduct upon the affair of the Principalities, and it is equally inexplicable with regard to Tatistcheff,[2] who appears to have completely over-reached him. At one of my first interviews with Metternich he began a conversation concerning Tatistcheff, with whose character he knew I was well acquainted. He said that Tatistcheff was sent here by the Emperor of Russia, not because he was in his favour or confidence, but because no other Russian could be found who was not an advocate for war with the Porte, and that H.I.M. therefore entreated that he might be received and listened to. That Tatistcheff at their first interview declared that he was aware that Metternich had great prejudices against him, and that if he was not prepared to lay them aside and to give him credit for plain and open dealing (his object being the maintenance of peace between Russia and the Porte) he had better dismiss him

[1] At this time Foreign Minister at St. Petersburg.
[2] Russian Ambassador to Vienna.

at once. Metternich admitted that he had not approved his former conduct, but said: 'Let us hear what you have to say upon the subject which has brought you here, and I shall then be enabled to judge whether it is likely that we shall go on well together."

"Tatistcheff then explained himself in a manner which was perfectly satisfactory to Metternich, and in all his subsequent conferences with him continued to maintain the same language. Metternich, however, described him to me as full of prejudices, hating the English generally, and Lord Strangford in particular, and so little master of his feelings that he was seldom able to reason justly upon any subject connected with Lord Strangford's negociations.

"You will perhaps recollect that in my private letter of July 30 I mentioned Tatistcheff's having asserted to me that the Emperor would not send a Minister to Constantinople until the affairs of Greece were settled, and that Lord Strangford was perfectly aware that such was H.I.M.'s determination. I mentioned this at the time to Prince Metternich, who said that he had been informed by other persons that Tatistcheff had expressed himself in similar terms to them, that he was determined to bring him to an explanation and that if he found him deviating in the least degree from his former professions, "il le couleroit bas."

"In the course of a few days, Metternich informed me that he had had his explanation with Tatistcheff, which was quite satisfactory, that he admitted his having held the language imputed to him, but to persons to whom it was necessary to hold it, but that his ideas with respect to the differences between Russia and the Porte, and to the concessions to be required from the latter previously to sending a minister to Constantinople were the same as Metternich's, and that he was prepared to go hand in hand with him in everything. Metternich on this occasion said that generally he was not to be trusted, but that he felt that he was entirely in his power and might therefore be dealt with with safety. He afterwards informed me, upon announcing the journey to Czernowitz, that he should take Tatistcheff with him, one of his reasons being that he was afraid of leaving him behind, but that he had no influence with the Emperor of Russia, and that no opinion coming from him would have any weight with H.I.M.

"This is the history of Metternich and Tatistcheff. How Metternich has been induced to enter so completely into the views of the Russian Cabinet without, as it would appear, making any attempt

to combat their pretensions, is to me quite inexplicable. I conversed yesterday with M. de Gentz, and he by no means approved the instructions sent to M. d'Ottenfels. He says, however, that he is persuaded that Metternich's opinions are not changed, but that the unfortunate necessity Austria is under of keeping upon good terms with Russia added to the desire of depriving the latter Power of every pretext for going to war with the Porte, have led Metternich to exert all the influence of this Government at Constantinople for the purpose of obtaining this additional concession from the Ottoman Government. He thinks, however, that without Lord Strangford's assistance it is quite unlikely that they should succeed, the Internuncio having indeed already failed in a representation which, unassisted by Lord Strangford, he made to the Reis Effendi, on September 24, urging the necessity of the complete evacuation of the Principalities by the Turkish troops—a failure which has been attributed by Metternich to want of energy on the part of the Baron d'Ottenfels. . . .

"The only remaining topic of any importance touched upon in these papers relates to the affairs of Greece. Count Nesselrode is of opinion that the present moment would be the fittest for calling the attention of the Ottoman Government to this question and to obtain from them "pour point de départ" an admission that tranquillity can only be re-established in Greece by the intervention of the Allies collectively."

As a result of the Conference between the two Emperors it was agreed that Russia should send a representative to Constantinople, but that the evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia should be insisted upon.

The evacuation of the Principalities was not completed before September of the following year, when a Russian Chargé d'Affaires was sent to Constantinople.

In reporting a conversation with Prince Metternich on the subject of the Conference, Wellesley said:

"He told me that of all the questions he ever was engaged on that relating to the differences between Russia and the Porte was the most difficult—that any open opposition to the views of the Emperor Alexander would only serve to give strength to the War Party at St. Petersburg, which was already too powerful, and that he had gone to Czernowitz with the impression upon his mind that all the

influence which he possessed with the Emperor Alexander would be insufficient to prevent H.I.M. from entering the Turkish Provinces at the head of his army, and that if a war had been prevented it was owing to the united efforts of the British and Austrian Cabinets. . . . His Highness observed that it was a most fortunate circumstance that the Emperor of Russia had been prevailed upon to separate the question of his immediate difference with the Porte from that which related to Greece. That through the talents and exertions of Lord Strangford the differences had been arranged, and that he should consider the first question as completely settled by the renewal of the diplomatic relations between the two Governments."

AUSTRIA.—1823-1824

II

Ferdinand reinstated—Metternich and Spanish Colonies—His view of the future—Canning refuses to take part in Paris Conference.

1823.—On October 14th Wellesley, in a letter to Sir Charles Bagot, said that news had reached him of

"the King of Spain being at the Duke of Angoulême's Headquarters, but it does not appear upon what condition he has been set at liberty. I think that everything depends now upon the prudence and moderation of the King and his Councillors, but they will have no idea, I am afraid, but the re-establishment of the old despotism, which in the course of six months will lead them to another revolution. A'Court, I suppose, will join him immediately."

Wellesley to Canning. November 11.—"I had some conversation with Prince Metternich yesterday upon the state of affairs in Spain since the King's liberation, expressing my concern at the decrees issued by H.M. and my apprehension that so far from tending to tranquillise the Nation they would increase the confusion and disorder which had already been witnessed in that unfortunate country. He agreed with me in thinking these Decrees highly impolitic, but said that he had received despatches from Count Brunetti, assigning motives for that which prohibited persons of a particular description from approaching within five leagues of the King's route, which were praiseworthy: that Count Brunetti and his colleagues, upon being made acquainted with these Decrees, had presented a joint remonstrance upon their cruelty and impolicy, and had been assured by Don Victor Saez[1] that that which prohibited persons from approaching the King's route was a precautionary measure calculated to prevent the persons therein

[1] Spanish Prime Minister.

described from falling victims to popular fury, and that, with respect to the individuals incurring the penalty of banishment from Madrid, the provisions of the Decree would be modified or not carried strictly into effect. Prince Metternich added that . . . he was disposed to think better of the King's intentions than, he confessed, had been the case.

"I told him that I was sorry that I could not join with him in this opinion; for that in 1814 an answer to the same effect had been made to me by the Duke of San Carlos when I remonstrated upon the imprisonment of several of the most distinguished members of the Cortes, upon the King's approach to Madrid: *viz.*, that it was a measure of precaution to protect those persons from popular vengeance, and that as soon as the danger was over they would be released; that so far, however, from this assurance being fulfilled, many of them were afterwards more rigorously confined and others banished to the Presidios upon the coast of Africa; and that I could not recollect a single instance of H.M.'s clemency having been extended to any of these persons. Upon my pointing out the very embarrassing situation in which the Allies were placed by the King's conduct, which was even more tyrannical than it had been in 1814, and was likely to produce more mischievous consequences, Prince Metternich said that the King would attend to the suggestions of the Allied Ministers. It seems more probable that we shall soon hear of the establishment of a Camarilla.

"It has been too much the disposition of Prince Metternich and, I fear, generally speaking, of all the Allied Cabinets, to consider the great evil as at an end; and that no further danger was to be apprehended when once the King of Spain was at liberty and the Constitution destroyed. This I apprehend to proceed from their imperfect knowledge of the Spanish character in general, and of the King's in particular; and whenever I have had an opportunity I have endeavoured to impress upon Prince Metternich the evils which would ensue from leaving the King in the unrestrained exercise of power. The constant reply, however, has been that the overthrow of the Spanish Constitution would give the death blow to Jacobinism; and that it would have been a departure from principle to have attempted to impose any conditions on the King while in the hands of the Constitutionalists. The Prince never shows me any of his despatches from Spain, but I suspect

that he is not in reality so well satisfied with the state of affairs there as he pretends to be."

November 19.—" Prince Metternich informs me that he has . . . received despatches from . . . Paris apprising him of the discussions which had taken place between Great Britain and France upon the subject of the Spanish Colonies; and of the uneasiness felt by the latter Power at the line which it appeared to be the intention of H.M.G. to take with respect to those Colonies. These advices stated that H.M.G. would not hear of this question being submitted to the Allies; and it had been announced to the Government of France that any attempt to bring it under their consideration would lead to a recognition on the part of Great Britain of the independence of the Colonies.

" The Austrian Minister . . . observed that even admitting that Powers not directly maritime had no interest in this question, in a commercial view that very circumstance ought to remove any objection to their taking cognisance of it, since their judgment must be impartial. He could not, however, admit that this question, involving the commercial interests of a large portion of Europe, was not one which the Powers in question had a right to discuss, particularly if they were called upon so to do by Spain herself.

" Having had no previous knowledge of the discussions to which Prince Metternich alluded, I could only say that I had not received any instructions from you upon the subject of the Spanish Colonies. . . . I reminded him, however, of the repeated offers of our mediation which we made to the Spanish Government—offers which had been made with no view to our own advantage: for we had invariably rejected the tender of a free trade to ourselves; always requiring that the same advantage should be extended to the rest of Europe; that, unfortunately, our mediation had, upon some occasions, been declined by Spain; and if, upon others, a disposition had been manifested by the Spanish Government to accept it, their unreasonable pretentions, which they never could be brought to forego, precluded all hopes of success from our intervention. The result had been the almost entire loss of her Colonies to Spain, leaving no hope of their recovery, either by conquest or negociation. In the meanwhile, our trade with Spanish America had increased gradually and was now so extensive as to require that Consuls should be appointed for its superintendence.

". . . It was unreasonable now to require that Great Britain should consent to discuss this question with the Allies as one of general interest to Europe, in the vain hope that any measures which could now be taken could induce the Colonies to return to their subjection to the Mother Country.

"Prince Metternich replied . . . that, although Great Britain might not choose to discuss this question with the Allies, he could not admit that she was justified in interposing any obstacle to the King of Spain's consulting his Allies upon the measures best calculated to re-establish his own interests in the Spanish Colonies. With respect to France, he observed that she had no views of conquest or aggrandisement any more than Great Britain; and no object in view for herself beyond a fair participation in the trade of America."

December 20.—"I have lost no time in communicating to Prince Metternich the substance of your despatch of November 28th. He had received from M. de Neumann[1] a copy of the memorrandum of the Conference[2] which had taken place between you and the French Ambassador upon the affairs of Spanish America. . . . It was now, he said, most gratifying to him to observe that there was little difference of opinion between His Majesty's Government and that of Austria as to the policy to be pursued with respect to the Spanish Colonies."

January 21, 1824.—"Count Casa Flores, the Spanish Minister at this Court, has lately communicated to Prince Metternich a despatch from his Government, requesting the intervention of the Allied Powers for the purpose of settling the differences between Spain and her Colonies; and proposing that conferences for that purpose shall be held at Paris. . . . I took the opportunity of ascertaining his [Prince Metternich's] sentiment upon that part of the speech of the President of the United States[3] which related to Spanish America. He said that it was in exact conformity

[1] Austrian Ambassador in London.

[2] The conference between the Prince de Polignac and Canning took place in October, 1823. Canning said that any attempt to bring Spanish America under its ancient submission to Spain would be entirely hopeless; negotiations for that purpose would be unsuccessful, and war for that object would be a waste of human life. The French Government would make no decision until the King (of Spain) was liberated.

[3] A message which the President addressed to Congress, alluding to the armed intervention of the Allies in the affairs of Spain.

with the republican principles avowed and constantly acted upon by that Government, but that the opinions and intentions therein announced afforded additional grounds for not allowing an Agent of the United States to assist at conferences which would have for their object the re-establishing by amicable means some kind of connection between Spain and her Colonies. This speech, he said, had confirmed him in an opinion he had before entertained, that, one day or other, great calamities would be brought upon Europe by the establishment of these vast republics in the New World, in addition to the power of the United States, of whose views no man could entertain a doubt after reading the speech in question. He did not say that the present race would witness these calamities, but it was one of the first duties of a Government to direct its views to the welfare of posterity; and however remote the danger which he apprehended might be it was still the duty of every European Statesman to give it due consideration in forming his judgment upon this most important question. He held it, he said, to be impossible that any of the European Powers could be of opinion that (their commercial interests being secured) the independence of America could be desirable; although circumstances might compel them to acquiesce in it. He condemned, as usual, the folly of the Spanish Government in cherishing the hope of being enabled to re-establish their former ascendancy over the Colonies; but he could not but think that it would be highly advantageous to Europe if 'le principe monarchique' could be preserved by vesting in His Catholic Majesty a nominal Sovereignty over these possessions; or by constituting them independent monarchies in the persons of individuals of the Spanish Royal Family.

"In stating his views upon this subject, however, he was quite aware that their accomplishment might be impracticable and meant merely to convey his view as to the arrangement which would be most desirable for Spain and for Europe in general."

Canning refused to take part in the proposed Conference, the views of Great Britain on the subject of the Spanish Colonies being already fully known to the Spanish Government and to the Allied Powers. The Conference took place in Paris during the summer, attended by the representatives of the Courts which had agreed to it—but served no useful purpose.

Wellesley to Canning. February 28.—"In one of our conversations Prince Metternich observed upon the difficulty the King of Spain would have in framing his recognition of those Colonies which had in fact established their independence (such as Buenos Ayres or Columbia) so as to avoid a similar recognition with respect to those possessions where he had still a footing, and, he said, that according to the report of M. de Neumann you were of opinion that a connection between Spain and Mexico might be preserved and a monarchical form of Government might be established in the latter country, but that upon M. de Neumann's suggesting that the future Sovereign of Mexico should be one of the members of the Royal Family of Spain you appeared to think that such an arrangement would not be practicable. I have not mentioned this in a public despatch as it occurred to me that the idea respecting Mexico had very likely originated in a misconception of M. de Neumann's."

April 6.—"I was surprised to hear lately from M. de Gentz something very like a direct approval of the line of policy adopted by H.M.'s Government upon the Spanish-American Question. It was impossible (he said), after reading the speech of the President of the United States, not to apprehend much danger from the enterprising and ambitious spirit of that Government; that Great Britain was the only Power which could oppose any obstacle to their projects of aggrandisement, and that the Ministers therefore judged wisely in keeping themselves free upon the Spanish-American Question, in order that they might be enabled to act as circumstances might require. . . .

"Prince Metternich lately showed me a despatch to the Austrian Ambassador at Paris, in which he so far argued in favour of our policy as to state that there was no reason to infer that because Great Britain had taken her own line respecting the Spanish Colonies, she had therefore abandoned the Continental Alliances. The whole tenor of his despatch is friendly to Great Britain, and seems to have been written by way of reply to some communication from the French Government animadverting strongly upon our conduct in refusing to assist at the proposed Conferences.

"I suspect with all this that Prince Metternich is using every effort to keep the French Government true to the principles of the Holy Alliance, and that you will find this to be the case upon the

question of the Spanish Colonies. He appears to me to be apprehensive that, notwithstanding the bitter complaints of France upon the refusal of the British Government to assist at the proposed Conferences, she would be too ready to follow the example of Great Britain were she to acknowledge the independence of the Colonies."

AUSTRIA.—1823-1825

III

Russia suggests a Conference on Greek Affairs—Participation of British subjects in Greek struggle—A Russian Representative at Constantinople—Metternich's attitude towards proposed Conference —And his fear of Russian aggression—Stratford Canning at Vienna —Metternich's efforts to curb Russian War Party—Turkish message to Vienna—Effect of British decision not to take part in Conference.

Wellesley to Canning. Russia and the Porte. December 20, 1823. —" Baron Lebzeltern[1] reports that the affairs of Greece continue. to be the subject of great embarrassment to the Russian Cabinet. The French Ambassador had addressed the Emperor with a view of ascertaining his views and intentions with respect to Greece, and the Emperor had replied that he had not made up his mind upon the subject and could hardly venture an opinion upon it without consulting his Allies.

" It appeared, by Baron Lebzeltern's report, to be the wish of the Russian Cabinet that the Ministers of the Allied Sovereigns residing at St. Petersburg should meet in conference for the mere purpose of assisting Count Nesselrode in devising a plan for the pacification of Greece, to be afterwards submitted to those Sovereigns."

February 29, 1824.—" . . . Prince Metternich has communicated to me the plan for the pacification of Greece, transmitted to him from St. Petersburg.

" His first impression upon the perusal of this plan was an apprehension lest it should come to the knowledge of the Ottoman Government before the negociations now pending at Constantinople should be brought to a conclusion, as even the suspicion of the existence of such a plan would infallibly throw obstacles in the

[1] Prussian Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

way of the negociations if it did not put a stop to them altogether. It was his intention therefore to suggest to Lord Strangford, through the Internuncio, the importance of pressing forward the negociations if he apprehended no danger from so doing. . . .

"As to the plan itself, Prince Metternich says that he does not believe that either party could be brought to acquiesce in it, but for his part he would willingly concur in this or in any other plan which should hold out a prospect of a termination of the distressing events which are daily passing in Greece, and afford some hope of securing the future tranquillity of that Country.

"He begged me to express to you his anxious wish that Sir Charles Bagot should be authorised to assist at the Conferences at St. Petersburg as he is persuaded that no mischief can happen where direct access can be had to the Emperor, but that it is not easy to carry on discussions with Russian Agents, particularly when those Agents are not within the reach of His Imperial Majesty."

Wellesley to Bagot. March 4.—"I have received a letter from Strangford dated the 11th of February, by which it appears that he is, at this moment, upon a very bad footing with the Ottoman Government, owing to their having discovered that several Ionians have been employed during sixteen months in recruiting at Constantinople for the Greeks in the Morea. Lists of the persons there enrolled have been discovered, and members of our septinsular subjects have been taken up; this, together with Lord Byron's proceedings, who has established himself in Cephalonia, from whence he distributes his succours to the insurgents, have made the Turkish Government furious; nevertheless it appears by despatches from the Internuncio and the Prussian Envoy, of the same date as Strangford's letter, that Minciaky has been perfectly well received, and that the negociations are going on with a fair prospect of terminating successfully."

Wellesley to Strangford. May 4.—". . . What a pity that you should be so counteracted by *our cursed* proceedings in the Ionian Islands and Seas. I hope that the despatches which arrived last night from England and which I now send you . . . may have the effect of soothing the irritation so justifiably felt by the Turks. I sincerely hope that your exertions will be crowned with complete success, but should it be otherwise, you have not, I trust, any

reason to apprehend that full justice will not be done to those exertions, or that any blame will attach to you.

"You are soon, I find, to have a French colleague[1] of equal rank with yourself. I hope you will not find him troublesome. He will no doubt attempt to *jouer un rôle* as all Frenchmen do, whether in public or private life; at least I never met with one who did not. I know nothing of his character, but I have no idea that his diplomatic talents can be considerable. Indeed I believe that this is his first *début dans la carrière* . . ."

Wellesley to Canning. May 6.—" . . . Upon the subject of your instructions to Lord Strangford, Prince Metternich observed that his attention had been so earnestly called, by his reports from Constantinople, to the irritation felt by the Ottoman Government at the support afforded to the Greek cause by His Majesty's subjects, that he had addressed a despatch to M. de Neumann strongly urging the necessity of something being done to remove the unfavourable impressions which the unceasing complaints of the Turkish Commanders in Greece had produced at Constantinople. He was much gratified therefore by the contents of your despatch; and he trusted that the communications which Lord Strangford would now be enabled to make to the Ottoman Ministers, would go a great way towards tranquillising their minds. He was persuaded indeed that the measures adopted for the purpose of enforcing a strict neutrality of Great Britain between the contending parties were of the utmost importance, since it was only by preserving the confidence of the Porte that H.M.G. would be enabled to intervene with effect in the Greek Question whenever it should come legitimately and fairly under the consideration of the Allies. . . . Prince Metternich has requested me to call your attention confidentially to certain articles inserted in the French newspapers (even in those protected by the Government) upon the publication of the appointment of General Guilleminot to be Ambassador at Constantinople, in which articles the revival of the French influence at the Porte and the downfall of that of Great Britain are confidently anticipated. Prince Metternich is of opinion that these paragraphs are quite consistent with the tone of late assumed by the French Ministers who seem to consider their military successes

[1] General Guilleminot.

in Spain as entitling them to revive that pretention to superiority which had formerly so much influence upon the affairs of Europe. He is prepared, therefore, for an attempt on the part of the French Ambassador to put himself in competition with Lord Strangford with a view to taking the lead in the negociations now pending, or which may eventually be carried on at Constantinople; and while he is persuaded that any attempts of the nature above alluded to must end in a total failure, and that, in order to defeat it, Lord Strangford has only to persevere in the course which he has hitherto pursued with such unexampled success, he is not without apprehensions that M. de Guilleminot, failing in his first object, may be inclined, either openly or secretly, to favour the Greek Cause more than would be consistent with the views and intentions of the Allies.

"He is the more inclined to be of this opinion as the French Ministerial papers, as well as those adverse to the Government, have of late been filled with triumphant predictions of the final success of the Greeks. . . ."

May 12.—"Prince Metternich has authorised me to announce to you the new diplomatic arrangements as far as they relate to the appointments of Prince Esterhazy to Paris and of Count Apponyi to London.

"Prince Esterhazy will proceed to London about the middle of June for the purpose of taking leave of His Majesty; and he expects to be able to take charge of the Austrian Embassy at Paris about the middle of July.

"Count Apponyi is to be at Vienna in the course of ten days or a fortnight; and may be expected to reach London in a fortnight or three weeks after the departure of Prince Esterhazy.

"Prince Metternich is most anxious that this appointment should meet with the approbation of His Majesty's Government, and he entertains a confident belief that the many estimable qualities possessed by Count Apponyi will render him personally agreeable to His Majesty."

September 3.—"Sir Charles Bagot has no doubt informed you that M. de Minciaky has been or is to be accredited as Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople until the arrival of M. de Ribaupierre, the person selected by the Emperor of Russia to reside at that Court.

"I understand from Prince Metternich that M. de Minciaky has been instructed by his Government to open discussions with the Reis Effendi upon the affairs of Greece with the object of inducing the Porte to consent to an armistice, and that M. de Tatistcheff has been very urgent with him (the Prince) not to oppose this proceeding of the Russian Cabinet, but rather to join in promoting it with all his influence. His Highness informed me that his last advices from Constantinople adverted to the great discontent produced by the publication of the Russian Memoir upon Greece. That the Reis Effendi had observed to the Austrian Dragoman that it was evidently the object of Russia to obtain possession of the Morea, but that he knew Prince Metternich's principles too well not to be certain that he would oppose this project, and that he believed he had absented himself from Vienna with no other view than to avoid the discussion of the Russian Memoir. Prince Metternich is therefore of opinion that the overture with which M. de Minciaky is charged will fail; and that even if it were to succeed with the Ottoman Government, the Greeks would refuse to consent to an armistice. I believe it nevertheless to be his intention to instruct M. d'Ottenfels to support the representations of M. de Minciaky to the Turkish Government, principally with a view of obviating the mischief which may be likely to arise from them.

"Here is another instance of the extreme unwillingness of Prince Metternich openly to oppose any measure brought forward by the Emperor Alexander, however he may disapprove it, or be convinced of its inefficacy or even of its danger. . . ."

October 4.—"The language which Prince Metternich has lately held relative to the delay in the return of the Russian Minister to Constantinople, approaches in some degree to the opinions which, according to Lord Strangford's report, he had expressed upon the same subject as early as the month of July in his despatches to the Internuncio. His Highness mentioned to me lately the danger to be apprehended from the large suite which would accompany M. de Ribaupierre. He likewise observed (with reference to the ill-humour which, according to the reports from Constantinople, had been manifested by the Sultan at the delay in the arrival of the new Russian Minister) that the delay could not be interpreted as indicating a wish on the part of the Emperor Alexander to depart

from his promises. That H.I.M. could not possibly send M. de Ribaupierre to Constantinople without furnishing him with full instructions upon all points connected with the Greek Question. That a further reference to the Allied Cabinets had therefore been thought necessary before those instructions could be prepared, and that this had led to the determination to postpone the departure of M. de Ribaupierre until the return of H.I.M. to his capital, as time would thus be afforded for communicating upon this important subject with His Majesty's Government and with the other Allied Courts taking part in the conferences at St. Petersburg.

"As to the motives to which the conduct of Prince Metternich in these transactions is to be assigned, I am convinced that they arise much more from an unwillingness openly to oppose any project of the Emperor Alexander than from any desire to protect the commercial interests of Austria by throwing obstacles in the way of the re-establishment of the diplomatic relations between Russia and the Porte, or of an amicable arrangement of the affairs of Greece.

"He has avoided taking any part in the conferences upon the Greek Question, not from any unwillingness to promote the plan of pacification brought forward by Russia, but from a conviction of its impracticability as well as from an apprehension of the consequences which are likely to follow the rejection by the Sultan of the propositions which must, he supposes, sooner or later be submitted to His Highness's consideration.

"I am confirmed in my opinion that these are the motives by which Prince Metternich is actuated, not only by what has fallen from him upon various occasions, but likewise from the conversations which I have had with M. de Gentz, who so far differs in opinion with His Highness that he condemns the delay on the part of Russia in sending the new Minister to Constantinople; he is, however, equally convinced with the Prince that the plan of pacification put forward by the Russian Cabinet is impracticable, and that no benefit is likely to result from the conferences carrying on at St. Petersburg, and he is moreover of opinion (though he could by no means recommend such a proceeding) that the Porte has a perfect right to decline any intervention on the part of the Allies in her quarrel with her Greek subjects."

October 16.—Upon the question of Greece Prince Metternich was anxious that H.M.G. should view it in the same light as himself.

"He was apprehensive that no representations on the part of the Allies would produce any effect upon the Porte, and he was therefore anxious that they should take up the question as one of general interest to Europe and as one in which Russia had no exclusive concern. The advantage of this mode of proceeding would be that it would (in the event of the joint representations of the Allies to the Porte failing of effect) enable the Emperor of Russia, who was really himself desirous of maintaining peace, to resist the clamours of the War Party, since the question once presented to the Porte as one of common interest to Europe H.I.M. would have no more cause for going to war upon it than any of the Great Powers."

"If, on the contrary, the question were to be taken up with the Ottoman Government as one in which the Emperor of Russia possessed a stronger interest than any other Power, and in which he was consequently justified in taking the lead, H.I.M. would himself find it very difficult to avoid a rupture with the Porte in the event of her refusing to listen to reasonable terms of accommodation.

"In the course of these observations I put two questons to Prince Metternich. The first, whether he should consider the restoration of the diplomatic relations between Russia and the Porte as dating from the period of the arrival of M. de Ribaupierre at Constantinople, or from the period when M. de Minciaky should present his credentials as Chargé d'Affaires. The second, whether this Government still adhered to its resolution of not engaging in hostilities with the Porte should she decline the intervention of the Allies.

"To the first of these questions he answered that he should certainly consider the diplomatic relations between Russia and the Porte as renewed from the moment that M. de Minciaky should present his credentials as Chargé d'Affaires, and that the time of their presentation must depend upon the fulfilment of the engagements of the Porte to evacuate the Principalities, it appearing by the latest accounts that there was some hesitation on the part of the Ottoman Government in carrying that measure into effect in the Province of Moldavia which was still occupied by the Turkish forces.

"As to the second point he could say without hesitation that His Majesty the Emperor of Austria still continued in the determination not to go to war should the Allies fail in their attempt to accommodate the difference between Turkey and Greece. There

Francis II, Emperor of Austria.

From the picture by Anton Einsle in the Collection of the Duke of Wellington.

was another point of view, however, in which this subject should be considered. It might not be possible to prevent the Russians from going to war. What the result of such a war would be no man could doubt; and the successes of Russia might possibly be of such a nature as to compel the Allies to arm for the purpose of checking her career and of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, such as it had been settled at the Peace; and this was another motive which weighed strongly with him for recommending the adoption of the line of proceeding set forth in the despatch which Prince Esterhazy would have the honour of communicating to you.

"The next topic to which he adverted was the plan for the pacification of Greece, submitted to the Allies by the Russian Cabinet, upon which the Emperor Alexander would be anxious to have their detailed sentiments and upon which he concluded that Mr. Stratford Canning would be furnished with full instructions by you; and he expressed himself to be extremely anxious to be favoured with a perusal of those instructions, if possible previously to preparing his own to Baron Lebzeltern, under an understanding that the communication should be reciprocal and perfectly confidential."

November 22.—Commenting on a recent despatch from Canning, Prince Metternich said he could not admit that Austria had a greater interest than Great Britain in the Greek and Turkish questions.

"A reference to the diplomatic proceedings of former years, he said, would show with what care Great Britain had ever watched over the affairs of Turkey, principally with a view to prevent the encroachments of Russia upon that Power, that for several years past there had scarcely been a negociation connected with Turkey in which she (Great Britain) had not been concerned. That there never was a period when the exertion of her influence and authority was more necessary than at the present moment, and that he trusted that nothing would deprive the Allies of the advantage of her co-operation in the important discussions about to take place at St. Petersburg. . . ."

December.—Early in December the Provisional Government which had been set up in Greece announced to the British

Government that no arrangement between Greece and Turkey was possible without the recognition of Greek independence by the Allies.

Mr. Stratford Canning[1] was sent to St. Petersburg as British Envoy to discuss the Greek question with the Russian Cabinet. He stayed some days at Vienna and was present at an interview between Wellesley and Metternich, as will be seen from the following dispatch:

Wellesley to Canning. December 29.—"After introducing Mr. Canning to His Highness, I informed him that that Minister was to act in concert with me in the conferences which might arise out of the communications which I was instructed to make to him. . . .

"From Prince Metternich's conversation upon this and former occasions I have collected that he conceived too much importance to have been attached by H.M.G. to the letter from the Provisional Government of Greece, which he can only consider as a remonstrance against the plan of the Russian Memoir, but by no means conveying the resolution of the Greeks in general to reject any intervention on the part of the Allies not grounded upon their complete independence. But even taking the declaration of the Provisional Government in the full sense which had been given it by H.M.G. he is evidently of opinion that there is nothing in it which ought to induce the Allies to vary in their determination to deliberate upon the means of effecting the pacification of the East.

"Although the Greek Parley at St. Petersburg might not be more considerable than it was admitted to be by H.M.'s Government, he wished equally to strengthen the Emperor against the Russian Party, whose views were constantly directed to a war with the Turks with the ultimate object of driving them out of Europe. Whatever the Emperor's present views of policy, it was impossible, he said, to expect that he would not in some degree be influenced by public opinion and by the opinion of the Army always favourable to war, and this was one of his motives for endeavouring to identify him with the Allies upon the Greek Question.

"Respecting the value of the Treaties between Russia and the Porte as far as Greece is concerned, Prince Metternich denies that

[1] Afterwards Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, cousin of George Canning.

those Treaties gave to Russia any right of interference in favour of the Greeks, excepting in matters of religion. With this exception he contends that Russia has no more right to interfere in the affairs of Greece than any other European Power.

"In the course of this conversation it was observed to Prince Metternich that H.M.G. had by no means taken the definitive resolution of avoiding all future conferences upon the Greek Question. . . .

"He replied that the British and Austrian Cabinets had, he believed, the same views respecting the Greek Question, but that they differed widely as to the means to be adopted for attaining them. That for the reason he had stated, both in this conversation and in his despatches to Prince Esterhazy, he was decidedly of opinion that the best course the Allies could pursue (not only for reconciling the differences between the Porte and the Greeks but for the more important object, in his mind, of placing Russia on the same line with themselves with respect to the Greek Question) would be that they should meet in conference at St. Petersburg, nor could he conceive that the disturbed state of affairs in the East would not completely justify His Majesty's Government to Parliament (supposing such justification to be necessary) for meeting the Allies of Great Britain at a conference having for its object not only the amicable arrangement of the differences between Russia and the Porte, but the maintenance of peace throughout Europe. That such being the opinions of this Government, H.I.M. the Emperor of Austria felt it to be his duty (notwithstanding the resolution adopted by H.M.G.) not to abandon his ally the Emperor of Russia under the embarrassing circumstances in which he was placed. . . .

"It has been my endeavour to procure for Mr. Stratford Canning every facility of communicating with Prince Metternich. I wish it could be said that he had succeeded in obtaining His Highness' concurrence in the expediency of suspending the conferences upon the Greek Question. No argument, I am persuaded, has been omitted by him (and Prince Metternich does him full justice in this respect) which could tend to that object. But even if His Highness' opinions were not decidedly in favour of holding the conferences at St. Petersburg, his unwillingness to thwart the Emperor Alexander in an object which he has so much at heart, added perhaps to a certain degree of pique at having failed in carrying us with him upon this occasion (an expectation which, notwithstanding

his knowledge of your letter to Count Lieven, he certainly entertained up to the period of Mr. Stratford Canning's arrival at Vienna) would, I am persuaded, have prevented him from uniting his endeavours to ours with a view of postponing the conferences to a more favourable period. . . .

"He repeated . . . that he considered a successful mediation between the Greeks and the Porte as almost hopeless, and that he looked much more to the security which would be derived to Europe upon placing Russia upon the same line with her Allies upon the Greek Question and making that Question one of common interest to the Great Powers of Europe. He takes every opportunity of declaring it to be the resolution of this Government not to abandon the Emperor of Russia under the difficult circumstances in which he is placed."

January 3, 1825.—"Prince Metternich having received yesterday, by the post from Constantinople, despatches from the Internuncio which he deemed of great importance, he invited Mr. Stratford Canning and myself to an interview which took place this morning. He communicated to us in the first place a despatch from the Internuncio announcing that, in consequence of the final evacuation of Moldavia, M. de Minciaky had presented his letters of credence. He then read a confidential letter from the Internuncio detailing a conversation which had passed between the Reis Effendi and the Austrian Dragoman, M. Festa. The former, after testifying his satisfaction at the re-establishment of the diplomatic relations between Russia and the Porte by the presentation of M. de Minciaky's credentials, expressed the grateful sense entertained by the Sultan of the friendly exertions of the Austrian Government which had so largely contributed to extricate the Porte from the dangers and difficulties in which she had been involved owing to her differences with the Court of St. Petersburg. He then observed that a period was approaching when the Ottoman Government would be more than ever in want of the good offices of Austria. He alluded to the overtures which would soon be made to them on the subject of the affairs of Greece. M. de Festa not making any reply to these remarks, the Reis Effendi said that he was determined not to understand him, but that he might assure the Internuncio that the Sultan confided so entirely in the friendly disposition of the Austrian Cabinet, that whenever the period to

which he alluded should arrive, they would find him in every disposition to listen to the counsels which might be sent to him from Vienna, knowing by experience that Prince Metternich would advise nothing which was not for the advantage of the Porte.

"Prince Metternich dwelt much upon the importance of this communication as it evidently showed a disposition to conciliation such as had not hitherto been manifested by the Porte. His Highness also read to us a private letter from M. de Minciaky to M. de Tatistcheff expressing his satisfaction at the distinguished reception which he had met with upon presenting his letters of credence, and it appears by this letter as well as by the Internuncio's Report that the Ottoman Government considered the diplomatic relations between Russia and the Porte as fully re-established. . . .

"From a passage in the confidential communication above alluded to from M. d'Ottenfels it would appear that the Ottoman Government have themselves in contemplation to make proposals to the Greeks for an amicable arrangement of their grievances, and that the Pasha of Egypt is likely to be charged with this overture. In the meantime the Turks are making immense preparations for the next campaign, and it seems to be the opinion of M. d'Ottenfels as well as of the French Ambassador, Count Guilleminot, that if the Greeks are left to themselves they cannot much longer hold out against the power and resources of the Turkish Empire. Prince Metternich is of opinion that the majority of the Greeks would be willing to treat and that the letter addressed to you by the Provisional Government speaks the sentiments of a very small portion of that nation. . . .

"M. de Tatistcheff has communicated to Prince Metternich part of a private letter which he has received from Count Nesselrode, in which that Minister, speaking of the resolution taken by H.M.G. in consequence of the repugnance manifested by the Greeks and the Turks to the interference of the Allies, said that since such was the determination of the British Cabinet, it was fortunate that M. de Minciaky had not presented his credentials. Prince Metternich upon this passage being read to him said to M. de Tatistcheff that he hardly knew what degree of importance to attach to it, but that had the remark been made in an official communication he should instantly have instructed M. de Lebzeltern to decline all further conferences upon the Greek Question. M. de Tatistcheff said that there was nothing in the passage to excite his alarm, but Prince

Metternich, although not disposed to attach much importance to it, considers it fortunate that M. de Minciaky had presented his letters of credence without waiting for further instructions from St. Petersburg ; and he informed Mr. Stratford Canning and myself that he had contrived that M. de Tatistcheff should not be apprised of the fact of those credentials having been presented until after he had despatched a Russian Courier who was under orders for St. Petersburg."

January 6.—In an interview with Prince Metternich, Wellesley learned that the Russian Cabinet were very angry at the decision of the British Government to take no part in the conferences on the Greek Question, and had determined to give H.M.G. no further opportunity for discussion either of that question or of the affairs of Turkey.

Wellesley remarked that as it seemed that this determination had been taken in a moment of irritation, the Russian Cabinet would probably repent of it on cooler reflection. As matters stood Great Britain was precluded from availing herself of any change of circumstances such as might enable her to co-operate with the Emperor of Russia for the pacification of Greece. Prince Metternich seemed unwilling to commit himself to any opinion on the subject.

AUSTRIA.—1825

IV

Metternich on recognition of South American Republics—Canning inquires about Metternich—Austrian Representatives on situation in Spain.

1825.—On January 1st, 1825, England recognised the independence of the South American Republics. Canning had long been convinced that no reforms and no expansion of trade could be expected from Ferdinand VII if he regained control of the Spanish Colonies, and had therefore, in his own words : " called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old." This was of course quite contrary to the policy of Prince Metternich, who received the news of England's recognition " with expressions of the deepest regret."

Wellesley to Canning. January 17.—" . . . His Highness did not deny that it was to be expected from the previous declaration of H.M.'s Government that unless Spain herself took the lead in a negociation with the Spanish Colonies, their Governments would be sooner or later acknowledged by Great Britain. The step taken by H.M.G. was one, however, which he could not but deplore, since it gave the final blow to the interests of Spain in the New World and tended to encourage the revolutionary spirit that it had been found so difficult to restrain in Europe. . . . It was not for him to examine the motives by which H.M.G. were actuated in taking this step. They might proceed from regard for the interests of British Commerce, or from deference to public opinion in England, which he knew to be favourable to the measure, but he contended that the establishment of institutions founded on rebellion could in no way invalidate his Catholic Majesty's rights of Sovereignty over the countries in question. The right was unquestionably his until he made a formal surrender of it.

" On the evening after this conversation had taken place I

was invited to a ball at Court when the Emperor took occasion to express to me in terms still stronger than those used by his Minister his regret at the communication received from England. He said that notwithstanding the previous declarations of H.M.G. he had entertained hopes that they would not resort to this step in the present distracted state of Spain, but would wait in the expectation that she might be brought to less extravagant views on the subject of the Colonies.

"I answered that our experience unhappily precluded any such expectation. That from the year 1810 up to the present period, the mediation of Great Britain had been repeatedly offered to Spain, and had also been solicited by the Spanish Government, but that the conditions proposed by us as early as 1811, although they would at that period in all probability have been accepted by the Colonies and would have secured to Spain the sovereignty over those possessions and a continuance of all the advantages she had ever derived from them, were indignantly rejected; nor could Spain herself, when she solicited our mediation, be brought to state any condition whatever as a basis for negociation beyond the assurance of her willingness to grant a general amnesty to the Colonies. It was to her own conduct, therefore, that the loss of some of the most valuable of these possessions was to be attributed, nor was there now the smallest probability of her ever again being enabled to obtain a footing within them. I added that the previous declarations of H.M.G. must have prepared the Allies for the measures now in progress.

"His Imperial Majesty replied that with every feeling of respect and attachment for Great Britain, it would be inconsistent with his own principles if he did not express his entire dissent from those upon which the measure was founded and his apprehension of the mischief which might ensue from it, and he was sure that the communication which had been made to him would be received by the Emperor Alexander with sentiments, if possible, of still deeper regret."

Canning to Wellesley. February 26. *Private and Confidential.*—"My dear Wellesley,

"There are so many versions at Paris of Prince Metternich's first conversation with you upon your communication to him of the South American Despatch, that I cannot help entreating you

to let me know whether there were any expressions used by H. H. on that occasion which you thought it proper to suppress in your official report. For instance, the expression 'J'en suis indigné,' was that employed by him or no?

"Even from more distant Courts than Paris I have the intelligence that 'la personne de Mr. C——g n'était pas respectée'—in these sallies of the 'Prime Minister of Europe.'

"I have no objection to Prince Metternich's knowing that I know pretty well what he has been about *here*, as well as elsewhere. He has not succeeded to his mind. But I am not the less sensible of the obligation. I would counsel him, however, not to recommence the war, for though intrigue is a very good weapon, yet I am not sure that the House of Commons is not a better.

"He may be assured that Esterhazy knows England a little better than he can know it, and, occasionally at least, I believe Esterhazy has told him the truth, although well aware that it would be unpalatable. . . .

"Ever, my dear Wellesley,

"Sincerely and affectionately yours,

"Geo. Canning."

Wellesley to Canning. March 12.—In a letter marked "Private and Confidential," Wellesley replied to the above:

"I assure you that Prince Metternich did not employ the expression stated in your letter, nor has he ever, in my presence, made use of any expressions personally disrespectful to you. He is extremely easy of access, and I generally see him four or five times in the course of the week, either at his own house or in society. It is my usual practice to state in my despatches the substance of his opinions upon any subject in discussion between us without confining myself to what may have fallen from him at any one particular interview; but upon the occasion above alluded to, I took care to be very accurate in stating exactly what passed at that one conference when I communicated your despatch to him, and also to what fell from the Emperor on the following evening upon the same subject, and indeed, I had no opportunity of conversing a second time with Metternich upon the subject previous to the departure of the messenger charged with my despatches.

"That he expresses himself in stronger language when talking upon the same subject to my colleagues I think extremely probable,

and he may have done so knowing the sentiments of the persons he had to deal with.

"Tatistcheff's enmity to Great Britain is well known here, and he would rejoice at any disunion between the British and Austrian Governments. Prince Hatzfeldt is extremely violent upon the Greek and South American questions. He condemns our conduct upon these questions as well as our foreign policy in general, and thinks he speaks the sentiments of his Sovereign. Hs is very intolerant, and is constantly endeavouring to excite Metternich to violent measures with respect to Germany and Switzerland, but without effect. . . . It is certain that there has been a good deal of coquetting of late between the French and Austrian Governments, and the satisfaction which, since the removal of M. de Chateaubriand, Metternich has expressed at the conduct of M. de Villèle, would almost justify a suspicion of double dealing on the part of that Minister whose language to his Continental allies is certainly very different from that which he holds to H.M.G. His sentiments upon the Greek and South American questions, as they have been stated to Prince Metternich, are entirely in the sense in which those questions are viewed by this Government. . . .

"With respect to Great Britain, Metternich certainly feels that there is no longer the same cordial disposition in the British Government towards Austria and towards the Allies in general which formerly prevailed. I have endeavoured to show him that there has been no departure from the principles by which the British Government has been guided ever since the Peace. He admits this fact, and admits even that those principles would necessarily lead to the measures adopted with respect to the Spanish Colonies, but, he says, other forms would have been observed; that Austria would have been consulted as to the means of rendering our measures with respect to Greece and South America palatable to the Allies; and that there would not have been that indifference which (as he pretends) is now manifested as to whether our proceedings would be agreeable or not to the Continental Powers. While he laments, however, the change which he perceives in the disposition of H.M.G. towards the Allies, after all, Metternich cannot but be sensible of the importance to Austria of maintaining a good understanding with Great Britain, and whatever degree of ill-humour he may feel towards us at the present moment, he knows his own interest too well to lend himself to anything

which would permanently injure the relations between the two countries. . .

"P.S.—Upon reading over my letter, I feel that I may have borne too hard upon Prince Hatzfeldt, who is a most worthy man, although perhaps a little in love with the system of the Holy Alliance."

In April of this year, the Emperor of Austria visited his Italian Dominions, and the Court, in consequence, was removed to Milan. Sir Henry Wellesley took up his residence there also until July.

Wellesley to Canning, Milan. May 25.—"Prince Metternich informs me that his last despatches from Paris mention the uneasiness of the French Government at the alarming accounts received from the Island of Cuba, which is stated to be on the point of declaring its independence. His Highness said that when the intelligence of the defeat of the Royalists in Peru reached him at Paris, he had urged the French Government, as well as the Ministers of Russia and Prussia, to write to Madrid, enforcing the necessity of early measures being taken for securing the adherence of the Island of Cuba to the Spanish Crown, and that he should have thought no sacrifice in the way of concession too great with a view to this important object. That he was told by M. de Villèle, however, that he would find M. Pozzo di Borgo[1] entirely averse to sending any such instructions to Madrid, and that accordingly, when he came to talk to that Ambassador, he objected to the measure as utterly useless in the actual state of the Spanish Government, and remarked that upon no occasion since the liberation of the King from Cadiz had the advice of the Allies led to any beneficial result. I mention this circumstance since it tended to confirm Prince Metternich in the sentiments he entertained before respecting M. Pozzo di Borgo.

November 22.—"Prince Metternich has shown me the last despatches received from Count Brunetti" [from Madrid] "detailing the circumstances which led to the removal of M. de Zea, which he attributes to the great intimacy subsisting between him and the Russian Minister, M. d'Aubril. Count Brunetti says that scarcely a day passed without their being in close conference for several

[1] Russian Ambassador in Paris.

hours. That this was at length observed by the public, ever jealous of the interference of foreigners, that Monsieur de Zea was pronounced to be a mere tool in the hands of M. Pozzo di Borgo, and that his downfall was the consequence.

"Count Brunetti gives a melancholy picture of the actual condition, and apparently future prospects of Spain, and after representing the utter unfitness of the Duke of Infantado" [Zea's successor] "for his present situation, states his apprehension (arising out of a conversation which he had with the Duke) of a return to that system of persecution and violence which it had been Monsieur de Zea's object to put an end to.

"It is a curious circumstance that although Monsieur de Zea appears to have been supported by the Russian Government, yet M. de Tatistcheff openly exults in his downfall. I mentioned this fact to Prince Metternich, who said that . . . it afforded another proof of the truth of the observation he had often made to me on the subject of Russian Diplomatists, *viz.*, that there were four or five Russias: one at St. Petersburg and the others composed of the Foreign Agents of that Government scattered over the face of Europe, not one of whom ever allowed himself to be guided by the Emperor's instructions, but each pursued the line his own inclinations pointed out. This rendered it impossible to adopt any regular plan of proceeding, or to act in concert with a Russian Diplomatist, who was sure to mar whatever he engaged in; as in the instance of M. d'Aubril, who was warned by Count Brunetti of the danger to M. de Zea of the course he was pursuing, as it would infallibly terminate in the ruin of that Minister, and of the system he was desirous of establishing in Spain."

In December, the news of the death of the Emperor Alexander was received in Vienna, and there was much speculation as to who would succeed him. After some weeks it was learnt that the Grand Duke Nicholas had been chosen as Emperor.

AUSTRIA.—1825-1827

V

New Russian proposals for settling Greek Question—Russia and Turkey —Lord Cochrane—Austrian-French Relations—Russian menaces towards Turkey—Duke of Wellington's mission to St. Petersburg —Canning on British Policy—Attitude of France towards Duke of Wellington Protocol—Capture of Missolonghi—Confidential communications from Metternich interrupted—Canning annoyed with Metternich—Suggested Five-Power Treaty for settlement of Greek Question.

Granville[1] *to Wellesley. June* 11, 1825.—" Our time is wholly occupied with the Coronation Fêtes " [of Charles X] . . . " I will not give you a description of them—the newspapers furnish ample details. You must not, however, believe that the Duke of Northumberland's Ball cost two million of francs, nor that pearls were enclosed in the bouquets presented to the ladies, as is represented in some of the French journals. The Ball was magnificent, and the French and English were pleased.

" No great enthusiasm was manifested upon the King's entrance into his Capital after the Coronation—the measures of the Session were not calculated to please the shopkeepers and people of Paris.

" The politicians talk here of the divergence of the Russian and Austrian Courts on Greek affairs, of the degree of urgency with which the former press a summary settlement of the war between the Turks and the Greeks. *We* have no reason to regret that *we* were not parties to the conference at St. Petersburg. If the Greeks have been as successful in repelling the Turkish and Egyptian invasion of the Morea as the newspapers represent, they will not be satisfied with anything short of an unqualified acknowledgment of their independence."

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[1] Lord Granville, British Ambassador to Paris.

Wellesley to Canning, July 31.—"In my despatch of May 30th I informed you that a Note had been presented by M. de Tatistcheff to the Austrian Government urging the necessity of having recourse to measures of coercion in the event of a refusal on the part of the Porte or of the Greeks to admit the amicable intervention of the Allies for the settlement of their differences. I have now the honour to enclose two papers containing the substance of the new proposals brought forward by Russia and of the reply of the Austrian Cabinet. You will perceive that Russia likewise renews the proposal of sending agents into Greece which she had withdrawn in the conferences at St. Petersburg.

"I am assured that the answer of the French Government to these proposals is still more decided than that of Austria in its refusal to make France a party to coercive measures towards either of the belligerents. But the reply of the Prussian Cabinet has occasioned some dissatisfaction here, M. de Bernstorff having declared in his answer that the Emperor Alexander might rely upon the 'appui moral' of the Prussian Cabinet in support of any measures he might judge it advisable to take with reference to the Greek Question. . . ."

September 1.—"The last advices from Count Lebzeltern mention the ill-humour prevailing at St. Petersburg in consequence of the line taken by the Emperor Alexander's Allies respecting the affairs of Greece, to which H.I.M. attributes the failure of the overtures to the Ottoman Government, the embarrassing situation in which he himself is placed being a necessary consequence of that failure. Although the Austrian Cabinet had in the first instance approved the Russian plan for arranging the differences between Greece and Turkey, yet H.I.M. had not only been subsequently abandoned by Austria, but she had likewise detached France from him, for until a very late period the opinions of the French Government as to the line of conduct to be pursued with a view to the restoration of tranquillity in Greece had entirely coincided with those of the Russian Cabinet. It was well known that Prince Metternich, while at Paris, had taken the utmost pains to impress the leading members of the French Cabinet with the view of the question which he himself had adopted. H.I.M. had no doubt that H.H.'s object was the maintenance of peace in Europe, but it was worthy of his serious consideration whether that peace would be preserved by the

Alexander I, Emperor of Russia.

From the picture by George Dawe, R.A. (after Gérard) in the Collection of the Duke of Wellington.

measures he was pursuing or whether they were not more likely to lead to war.

"H.I.M. was determined strictly to abide by his engagements with the Allies upon the Greek Question, but there were other questions pending between Russia and Turkey which still remained unsettled, and it was not to be expected that having failed in his great object—to accomplish which he had submitted patiently to the evasions and insolences of the Turkish Government—he should continue in the practice of the same forbearance in the discussions upon points wholly distinct from the Greek Question which must arise between Russia and Turkey. . . .

"Prince Metternich has replied to these communications in very strong terms, taking a view of the conduct of Austria, and describing it as uniformly consistent from the moment of the breaking out of the Greek insurrection up to the present period. With respect to the hint thrown out by Count Nesselrode that there were other questions pending between Russia and Turkey which might lead to a war, he declares that he can foresee no circumstance which could justify Russia in coming to a rupture with that Power."

"Prince Metternich is much disturbed at the conduct of our officers in Greece, and still more at the prospect of Lord Cochrane's[1] being employed there. He has not, however, betrayed any ill-humour upon the subject, but if anything could be done to prevent this application, it would certainly tend much to conciliate this Government."

Canning to Wellesley. Private. September 28.—"Your confidential letters of July 31 and September 1 have been kept in my own hands, as you desired, with the single exception of the King, to whom I sent them, sealed up, and with an enforcement of the recommendation of secrecy.

"The only other persons to whom I should think of shewing them would be Lord Liverpool and the Duke of Wellington. But both having been on the Continent when they arrived, and our time since we met in Town last week having been occupied in Cabinet, almost daily, with pressing matters, I have not yet had an opportunity of giving your letters to either of them to read in my

[1] Tenth Earl of Dundonald; Admiral of Greek Navy, 1827-8. As Admiral of Brazilian Fleet, secured independence of Brazil, 1823-5.

presence, which is the only mode of communication which I shall think it right to employ even with *them*. Possibly we shall separate —as I see all my colleagues are anxious to get out of Town—without such an opportunity having occurred.

"We have determined *not* to dissolve Parliament this year—which question was the main object of our meeting.

"We have also determined (perhaps with doubtful policy) to prosecute Lord Cochrane for his breach of the law in serving the Emperor of Brazil. The offence is merely technical, for in that service he behaved exceedingly well towards British ships and subjects; but undoubtedly his coming into a British harbour with his flag flying as Admiral of Brazil was an outrageous insult to the law, and one which we cannot pass over, perhaps, and yet retain the right of prosecuting other offenders under the Act hereafter.

"This is one of the 'means within our power' to which I refer in the conclusion of my Despatch No. 13, but which I purposely avoid specifying, and which I cannot allow you to mention to Prince Metternich otherwise than as a matter under consideration, possible and contingent; because if Metternich were to write it back (as he infallibly would) to Esterhazy, and Esterhazy (or Neumann) were to publish it (as he infallibly would) here, the rumour would get abroad, and coming from a foreign source, would lead to the suspicion of a foreign origin, which would be fatal to all chance of a verdict.

"The other *mean* to which I refer is a new Proclamation (founded on the Enlistment Act as before) adverting to the peculiar circumstances of the Turkish and Greek War, and the *peculiar* dangers likely to arise to English interests from any English attack upon Turkey; upon which I think and hope that a stronger and more effective appeal may be made to publick feeling here, against Lord Cochrane's enterprise, than upon any general principle, or upon the ground of positive law.

"After all, however, I very much doubt whether that enterprise is in any such forwardness as was apprehended—or whether the scheme of it originated in any other aim than that of raising Greek Scrip and enabling Lord Cochrane to add an Eastern to his Western plunder. . . .

"P.S.—I *have* shown your two letters to Lord Liverpool, and your brother is at this instant reading them in my room. No one else shall see them."

Wellesley to Canning. October.—"I have observed since Prince Metternich's return from Paris that his language with respect to the conduct of the French Government has been more reserved than was formerly the case, and it is now difficult to draw from him his opinion upon many of the measures of that Government which I know he condemns. He came from Paris thinking that MM. de Villèle and Damas were quite devoted to him, but many questions have since occurred upon which they have taken their line without consulting him, and upon which, indeed, they have deceived him, and I know that he is mortified at their conduct, and generally displeased with the proceedings of the Government of France, although he does not choose to acknowledge it. I believe him to be most anxious to cultivate the best understanding with us, and he is always concerned when there is any serious difference between us. Upon the Greek Question he is at this moment more anxious for our assistance than I have ever yet seen him, as he is convinced that no good can be done without us.

October 18.—"It appears by the latest advices from Count Lebzeltern that Count Nesselrode continues to observe the same reserve towards him on the subject of the affairs of Greece. The conferences have been formally put an end to and the repeated efforts of M. de L. to draw from Count N. some explanation of the future intentions of Russia have entirely failed of effect. The Emperor, he has been told, being abandoned by the Allies, must take his own measures, or he has been tauntingly asked for the opinions of the Austrian Cabinet as to the future measures to be pursued. . . . Obscure threats have been thrown out as to the line of conduct which the Emperor Alexander may pursue in the event of there being any further delay in the strict fulfilment of the engagements stated to have been entered into by the Porte with Lord Strangford for the complete evacuation of the Principalities. These menaces have so far made an impression upon Prince Metternich that he sent off a messenger to Constantinople to urge, in the strongest terms, the necessity of an immediate compliance with the pretensions of Russia."

Wellesley learnt later that Russia had received satisfactory assurances from the Porte that the Sultan would comply with the demands of that Power in the Principalities, and the Prince

entertained no doubt "That we shall hear no more of the obscure menaces which have of late been so frequently thrown out at St. Petersburg against the Turks."

February 24, 1826.—Despatches now arrived from the Arch-Duke Ferdinand, who had been sent by the Emperor of Austria to congratulate the Emperor Nicholas on his accession. The latter had given the strongest assurances of his determination to adhere strictly to the principles of the Alliance.

"The great object of his ambition would be to tread in the footsteps of the late Emperor. With respect to the affairs of the East, H.I.M. felt the necessity of early and decisive measures being taken for putting an end to the war which desolated Greece. He was most desirous of acting in concert with his Allies in order to accomplish this object, and he was of opinion that the cordial co-operation of the five Great Powers afforded the best chance of effecting it."

The Duke of Wellington had been sent early in the year to St. Petersburg to concert measures with Russia for the recognition of Greek independence. Prince Metternich's comment on this step of the British Government was as follows: "That whatever his own opinion might be as to the course of proceeding which afforded the best chance of success, he believed the interests of Europe to be quite safe in the hands of the Duke of Wellington, and that he was even prepared to consider him as the representative of Austria. . . ."

Canning to Wellesley. Confidential.—In March Canning wrote: "As to the Greek and Turkish question . . . we are working in the *sense* of Austria, though not in concert with her; and if not in concert, only because we had occasion to believe what has in effect proved to be true, that our best chance of success in pursuit of a common object was to pursue it (in the first instance, at least) *alone*.

"We are not responsible in any degree for the fact that Prince Metternich had lost his hold on the mind of the Emperor Alexander. Of that fact, however, there is no doubt. Prince Metternich himself must be sensible of its truth. Our business was to employ an agency that was likely to be effectual to its purpose—and I am now positively certain of that of which I had before the strongest moral conviction, that by taking our Allies with us, we should have failed. Our

object, however, is, you may assure Prince Metternich, a *common* object. We have no separate views of our own."

The Duke's mission resulted in a Protocol[1] being signed by Great Britain on the measures to be adopted for the pacification of Greece. The Protocol was not at once made public, although the contents became known to the Allied Courts, as will be seen by the following letter from Lord Granville.

Granville to Wellesley. April 29.—"I think it necessary to apprise you . . . that the French Government, Count Apponyi, and the Baron Werther[2] are already in possession of the substance of the Duke of Wellington's Protocol. . . . General Pozzo" [di Borgo] "on Tuesday last received a courier from Petersburg, bringing him a copy of the Protocol. He did not, as he tells me, read the Protocol itself to the French Ministers; but he communicated the substance of it accompanied with conciliatory explanations; the communication, he said, was received coldly by the French Ministers, and they have to me testified their mortification at having been excluded from all participation in the arrangements entered into between England and Russia, and at the secrecy observed towards them with regard to the Duke of Wellington's negociation. Count Apponyi has indicated no such feeling, and Baron Werther tells me that his Court are much pleased with the result of the Duke of Wellington's Embassy.

"Does it not seem that the Russian Government has unfairly anticipated us in their communication to other Courts, as if they wished to make a merit of being less reserved than England towards our Allies."

May 7.—"The Messenger . . . arrived here last night from London. He was the bearer of despatches to me containing an explanation I am to give to the French Government of the secrecy we had observed towards our Allies regarding the Duke of Wellington's Protocol. I suppose that similar explanations have been addressed to you for the satisfaction of Prince Metternich. The Russian Government certainly played us a trick.

"The French Ministers, both Villèle and Damas, whose tempers were a little ruffled when they were first apprised of the arrangement

[1] Under which Russia and Great Britain were to offer their mediation between Turkey and Greece, on the basis of Greece becoming a Turkish dependency, paying a fixed tribute to the Sultan, but enjoying freedom of religion and trade.

[2] Prussian representative in Paris.

concerted between the Duke of Wellington and the Russian Government, have completely recovered their good-humour, and acknowledge very candidly that the stipulations of that arrangement are most satisfactory. Metternich seems to have taken an erroneous view of it, for he talked of it to you as if it were intended to make Greece wholly independent of the Porte—an annual tribute seems to me a substantial mark of dependence.

"I am surprised that Stratford Canning should not send his despatches which pass through Vienna under flying seal; it is important that you should see his accounts of what is going on at Constantinople and compare them with what Metternich tells you of the Internuncio's Communications."

Wellesley to Canning. May 17.—"Prince Metternich has received to-day a very distressing account of the occurrences which took place upon the fall of Missolonghi" [April 22, 1826]. "It appears that the garrison of that place had determined to make their way through the Turkish forces and to carry with them the women and children. Their plan, as well as the time when it was to be put into execution, was disclosed to Ibrahim Pasha by a Turkish prisoner, who contrived to make his escape. At the time appointed the garrison moved out, accompanied by the women and children, and after having got a certain distance, were attacked by the Turks. They then attempted to return to the fortress which, however, had been taken possession of by another body of the Turkish forces. The result is stated to have been the massacre of the whole garrison, together with those who accompanied it."

Granville to Wellesley. May 22.—"We wait with breathless impatience for news from Constantinople—and we apprehend that the capture of Missolonghi will have so elevated the spirits of the Turks as to render them wholly heedless of the advice given to them by the representatives of the Great Powers of Europe with regard to the Russian Ultimatum.

"The Greek cause is become exceedingly popular all over France, and the French Government, either from not choosing to oppose the popular sentiment, or from having to a certain degree changed their policy, make no attempt to damp this public feeling, and connive at the assistance given to the Greeks by the Philhellenic Committee."

When the above letter was written, Wellesley had already received intelligence from Stratford Canning, who had succeeded Lord Strangford at Constantinople, that the Porte had signified to the representatives of the Great Powers her intention to concede the several points demanded by Russia.

Wellesley to Canning. June 28.—"I have received a *Private and most Confidential* letter from Mr. Stratford Canning, in which he mentions the difficulties he experiences in his negociations with the Ottoman Government, and his doubts as to the disposition of Austria to aid even in such a pacification as that which forms the basis of the Petersburg arrangement. I conclude that he has expressed the same doubts in his despatches to you, and it may therefore be right that I should trouble you with the following observations upon the subject. I certainly am of opinion that what this Government would prefer would be that the Greeks and Turks should be left to fight out their quarrel free from any interference on the part of other Powers. You will recollect the satisfaction expressed here when the resolution of the Emperor Nicholas not to interfere in the Greek question was reported from St. Petersburg, and the concern and disappointment occasioned by the subsequent intelligence of the arrangement concluded between the Duke of Wellington and the Russian Government. There is no doubt that Prince Metternich was greatly mortified at the Emperor's departure from his first resolution, and at his apparent abandonment of the Continental Allies to join with Great Britain in the aforesaid arrangement. His instructions to the Internuncio may have partaken in some degree of this feeling, yet he assured me at the time that M. d'Ottenfels was directed to recommend in the strongest manner the acquiescence of the Turkish Government in the three demands of Russia and not to throw any obstacle in the way of the British negociations, but to support them as far as might be in his power.

"The reserve which has been observed towards this Court upon the subject of our negociations at Constantinople, has necessarily tended to interrupt those confidential communications I was before in the habit of receiving from Prince Metternich relative to the Greek question. I have therefore nothing to rely upon but his assurances that the same instructions have from time to time been repeated to the Internuncio, who has been desired to encourage

any disposition he might perceive in the Ottoman Government to accept our mediation. . . . It may be doubted, however, whether a pacification upon the basis of the stipulations contained in the Protocol would be approved by this Government. . . Prince Metternich considers the terms '*Suzerainté*' to imply larger sacrifices than it would be expedient to make to the Greeks or than the Turks would be willing to concede to them.

"The language this Government has invariably held and continues to hold is that they are desirous that every concession should be made with a view to the amelioration of the condition of the Greeks, and would be willing to assist in obtaining by amicable means every possible concession in their favour, short of depriving the Porte of the Sovereignty over the country, and however Prince Metternich may be persuaded of the inutility of any attempt to induce the Turks to accept the mediation of any foreign Power, I am persuaded that he would not object to co-operate in a joint effort of the Powers for that purpose, nor do I believe that were a regular application to be made to this Government for a more active support on the part of H.I.M. of Mr. Stratford Canning's negociations, it would be refused."

August 15.—"The general tenor of the advices from Constantinople is of a very unpleasant description. The measures of severity adopted by the Sultan since his triumph over the Janissaries[1] are calculated to produce a formidable reaction. The greatest consternation prevails in the Capital, where executions daily take place; among others, that of a banker of the Jewish persuasion, the whole of whose property has been confiscated. It is stated likewise that more than thirty thousand persons have been sent into exile. . . ."

October 18. *Private and Confidential.*—"I think it my duty to mention to you that a despatch from you to Mr. Temple,[2] containing remarks upon Count Bernstorff's reply to your second communication to the Prussian Government upon the affairs of Greece, has created a considerable and not a favourable sensation here. Prince Metternich said, speaking however, generally, and with great

[1] The famous corps had been mercilessly exterminated by the Sultan and pronounced disbanded in June, 1826.

[2] Secretary of Embassy at Berlin, afterwards Sir William Temple. He was a brother of Lord Palmerston.

reserve, that your instructions to Mr. Temple contained principles and assertions to which this Government could not subscribe; and that, if he was rightly informed, the tenor of Count Bernstorff's reply was the same as that of France, to which you had not stated any opinion.

"I ought perhaps to apologise for addressing you upon a subject upon which my information is so imperfect; but it appears to me that explanation will be necessary if we attach any importance to the active support of this Court in our negociations at Constantinople."

Canning to Wellesley. October 24. *Private and Confidential.*—"I purposely avoid answering your *Private and Confidential* despatch to-day. . . . If I were to . . . it would be in a tone very displeasing to Prince Metternich. What business has he to intermeddle in an affair wholly between Prussia and England? The answer of Prussia to our communication was ungracious and insolent, and Count Bernstorff's verbal communications . . . at the time of delivering it, left no doubt that it was so intended. The substance was that England was come round to the views and plans of the Allies—at length—but perhaps too late. This is a falsehood; and I exposed the falsehood in my despatch to Temple. I could send you the despatch, but I will not at present, till I know how Metternich became informed of it. As yet I have not given *any* copy of it, but I have read it to M. Damas and to Pozzo.

"But though I will not send you the despatch itself, I send you one from Temple, which shows how Count Bernstorff received it. Judge for yourself if *he* would have received it thus if he had not *felt* that I was in the right and he in the wrong. But I will not send the despatch at present—for I do not choose to plead to Prince Metternich's jurisdiction.

"As to the co-operation of Austria in the affairs of Greece, we *do* very earnestly wish for it; but if Prince Metternich fancies that we wish it so much that we shall not venture to go without it if he chooses to withhold it, he will find himself mistaken."

Wellesley to Canning. November.—In November Sir Henry wrote:

"Prince Metternich is remarkably reserved upon the Greek Question, but through all this reserve I can see enough to lead me

to apprehend that our negociations at Constantinople are not likely to experience any very cordial support from this Government. . . . Whether from a conviction of its inutility or from other causes, Austria has ever been averse to any interference in the quarrel between Greece and the Porte. If she consented to take a part in the conferences at St. Petersburg, it was principally on account of the importance attached to them by the Emperor of Russia. She never believed that these conferences would lead to any result. . . .

"Ever since the Peace of 1815 it has been the policy of this Court to cultivate the most intimate relations with Russia; and until the breaking up of the conferences, Prince Metternich had contrived to exercise a considerable influence over the councils of that Power.

"For some weeks subsequent to the death of the Emperor Alexander, this Court was in a state of painful suspense from their ignorance of the policy which might be pursued by the new Emperor, particularly with reference to the affairs of Greece; and the exultation of Prince Metternich, when apprised of the resolution expressed by the Emperor Nicholas soon after his accession, not to interfere in the disputes between Greece and the Porte, could only be equalled by his dismay at hearing of the Protocol signed by the Duke of Wellington and the Counts Nesselrode and Lieven. . . . I have no doubt that Austria looks forward to a complete failure at Constantinople of the efforts of H.M.G.

"Of all the questions which have of late years occupied the attention of Europe, that relating to the contest between Greece and the Porte is considered by Austria as the most important, and should the Ottoman Power be driven by compulsory measures to make concessions to the Greeks, this Government will consider the principle upon which the Allies have hitherto acted to have been violated and an example set to the subjects of other nations which may sooner or later be attended with consequences fatal to the security of every State in Europe."

December 22.—"I lose no time in forwarding to you a copy of the reply of the Austrian Government to the last communications made by the Russian Ambassador and me relative to the Protocol signed at St. Petersburg on April 4 last.

"Soon after I had received this communication I called upon

Prince Metternich, at his own request, when he said that his principal object in desiring an interview with me was to beg that I would assure you that the Internuncio would be forthwith instructed to take no step whatever until he had ascertained what was the line of proceeding which the British and Russian Plenipotentiaries meant to adopt. That if they preferred proceeding in these negociations according to the principle of the Protocol he was then (provided he was requested to do so by the negociators) to use all his influence in support of the overtures they might make to the Porte; for that although H.I.M. could not concur in the principle of the measures to which the Allies were invited to be parties, yet that (short of acceding to the Protocol) he trusted that the reply which he had this day sent to me would prove H.I.M.'s desire to promote the success of the negociations and to contribute by all the means in his power to the attainment of the objects which Great Britain and Russia had in view.

"I do not venture to give any opinion upon the enclosed reply, excepting that it is less unfavourable than, from our first communications with Prince Metternich, the Russian Ambassador and I were led to expect it would be."

1827.—A treaty between the five Great Powers for the settlement of the Greek question was now suggested by France, and approved by Austria and Russia. Austria objected to the *Sovereignty* of Greece being taken from Turkey and replaced by a *Suzerainty*. The Russian Ambassador suggested that the difficulty might be got over by avoiding the use of the word *Suzerainty* while securing for the Greeks the advantages comprised under that term.

Wellesley to Canning. March 14.—"The conferences which Prince Metternich has had with the Russian Ambassador have opened his eyes as to the real sentiments of the Russian Cabinet with regard to Greece. H.H. now perceives that all the notions he had been led to entertain of the indifference of the Emperor Nicholas on that question were erroneous, and that for the attainment of the objects proposed by the Protocol, H.I.M. is prepared to go much greater lengths than would be approved by H.M.G. The blindness of this Cabinet with respect to the disposition of Russia to co-operate cordially in this negociation is quite unaccountable. Many weeks ago I apprised Prince Metternich, from information which I had received from H.I.M.'s Minister at St. Petersburg, that instructions

had been forwarded to M. de Minciaky directing him to support any representations which Mr. Stratford Canning might make to the Ottoman Government. H.H. at the time expressed his doubts of the correctness of my information, and he was quite surprised when he heard from Constantinople that M. de Minciaky had actually supported the representations made by H.M.'s Ambassador.

" He has since seen M. de Minciaky's instructions, in which it is assumed (without any reference to the distinct and separate line taken by Austria)[1] that the Five Powers have agreed to act conjointly with the view of obtaining the concurrence of the Porte in the stipulations of the Protocol. This has caused great surprise and discontent here."

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[1] Austria declared herself ready to meet any agreement of the Five Powers, provided it did not overstep the limits of friendly advice.

AUSTRIA.—1826

VI

Vienna opposed to Constitutional system in Portugal—The Portuguese Minister and Dom Miguel—Miguel's claim to Regency—Spanish-Portuguese relations—Miguel and the Oath to the Constitution.

When Portugal was over-run by Napoleon's armies in 1807, John, the Prince Regent, sailed for Brazil. He became John VI on the death of his mother, Queen Maria I, in 1816, but he remained in Brazil as ruler of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves. John was married to Charlotte, sister of Ferdinand VII of Spain, and they had two sons, Pedro and Miguel.

With the central Government in Brazil the affairs of Portugal were administered under a Regency, which led to a disturbance and a demand that the Royal Family should return to Lisbon. Brazil was equally determined not to lapse into a colony. Finally, John sailed for Portugal in 1821, leaving his eldest son, Pedro, as Regent.

The Cortes at Lisbon then declared that the Regent must return, which led to a revolt in Brazil, a break with the Mother Country and the elevation of Pedro as monarch with the title of Emperor of Brazil.

Affairs in Portugal went badly, and in 1823 John was practically the prisoner of his son, Miguel, who had assumed command of the Army. But the Powers took action, and Miguel was sent out of the country. John then reigned uneventfully until he appointed his third daughter, Isabel Maria, Regent a few days before he died in 1826.

The question of succession was now the difficulty. Brazil was definitely separated from Portugal, and under its Constitution the two crowns could not be joined. Pedro elected to retain Brazil, and appointed his seven year old daughter, Maria da Gloria, to the throne he had abdicated, with the condition that she married her uncle Miguel.

Wellesley to Canning. June 15, 1826.—"As it is probable that the measures upon which the Emperor of Brazil may determine in

consequence of the death of his Royal father will very soon be known in Europe, I think it right again to express to you my conviction that any attempt to introduce a constitutional system into Portugal will be strongly opposed by this Government. Prince Metternich has too often expressed his sentiments to me upon this subject to leave any doubt upon my mind as to the course which this Government will pursue in the case to which I have alluded, and I am persuaded that all the influence which the Emperor of Austria may possess over his son-in-law[1] will be exerted to dissuade him from giving a Constitutional Charter to the Portuguese Nation, should he have such a project in contemplation. The same influence would be exercised, and with better chances of success over the Infant Dom Miguel, should H.R.H. by his marriage with his niece or by any other arrangement, be placed at the head of the Portuguese Government."

July 4.—"The decree issued by the Emperor of Brazil for granting a Constitutional Charter to Portugal has been received here from Paris, and has occasioned great alarm and anxiety, since if attempted to be carried into effect by the Portuguese Regency, the most serious consequences are apprehended both to Portugal and Spain. . . .

"Lord Granville will, of course, have informed you of the impression produced at Paris by the Decree in question, and that it had been agreed at a conference composed of the Ministers of the great Continental Powers which was assembled at Monsieur de Damas' that those Ministers should address their respective Governments upon the subject for the purpose of obtaining instructions for their guidance."

July 13.—"Your despatch . . . arrived very opportunely to enable me to confer with Prince Metternich previously to his departure from Vienna. . . . I lost no time in making him acquainted with the purport of your despatch and of your instructions to Sir William A'Court.[2] His Highness reminded me that upon the receipt of the intelligence from Paris relative to the decree of the Emperor of Brazil, he had expressed his conviction that if

[1] Dom Pedro had married the Archduchess Leopoldine in 1817.
[2] Now British Ambassador to Portugal.

Sir Charles Stuart[1] had recommended that measure he had done so without instructions from his Court, and he now admitted that whether the measure had or had not been recommended by H.M.'s Ambassador, it would be extremely difficult for any British Government to oppose its being carried into execution. It was one thing, however, not to oppose a measure, and another to assist in promoting it; and upon this point he thought that the British and Austrian Governments having gone hand in hand in the negociations which related to the separation of the Crowns of Portugal and Brazil, and to the succession to the Crown of Portugal, His Imperial Majesty was entitled more than any other Sovereign to a full and unreserved communication of the course which H.M.G. might pursue, not only in the present, but also in the future stages of this momentous affair. I replied that the despatches which I had just read to him ought to convince him that there was every disposition on the part of H.M.G. to communicate unreservedly with Austria upon this question. He admitted the truth of this remark, and then added that it was his opinion that the measures, if carried into execution, would not only be injurious to Portugal, but highly dangerous to Spain and, at a more remote period, perhaps to France and to other parts of Europe. As to the Infant Dom Miguel, there was not the least intention of advising him to depart from the line which he had hitherto followed, and fortunately the young Prince himself had no disposition to mix himself in the scenes which might be expected to ensue in the Peninsula, but would for the present remain quietly here and watch the course of events."

August 9.—Sir Henry Wellesley learnt from M. de Villa Secca, the Portuguese Minister, that the Infant Dom Miguel had great objections to the Constitution, but that if it were regularly proclaimed and accepted by the Nation he would have no hesitation in subscribing to it. The Prince, however, had been enjoined by the Emperor Dom Pedro to be guided in all things by the Emperor Francis.

Wellesley to Canning.—" M. de Villa Secca expatiated upon the hard conditions imposed upon the Infant Dom Miguel, being nothing short of banishment from his country, which, according to the strict letter of the Decree of the Emperor Dom Pedro, might

[1] British Envoy to Brazil in 1825.

be continued for a period of from seven to eleven years. It was injudicious, he thought, and would be a dangerous experiment with almost any other young man of his spirit, to exclude H.R.H. for so long a period from his fair pretensions to employment; and the unexampled docility and forbearance which, considering the influence he might have exercised in Portugal, had marked his conduct since his father's death, might be fairly urged as proofs of the injustice of the imputations respecting the violence and stubbornness of his character. . . .

"I cannot but think that it would tend to dispose H.R.H. to a favourable view of the new order of things in Portugal and to reconcile him to a residence here for a few years more, were some prospect held out to him of an earlier return to his country.

"It must be recollected that the Austrian Government have declared that they consider him as a free agent, and will not attempt to exercise any control over his actions; and if (which M. de Villa Secca denies) his character and disposition are really what they are represented to be in Portugal, there is no answering for his not taking some step which may be very embarrassing if the hard measures adopted towards him are persisted in, and he conceives himself to be neglected and ill-used by the Portuguese Government. The leaving him so long in the hands of this Government, considering the station he is sooner or later to fill in Portugal, may likewise be a measure of questionable policy."

September 5.—"A new circumstance has arisen of which the Austrian Government, should they wish to discourage the Infant's taking the oath, may avail themselves. It seems that, by an Article of the new Constitution, the Infant, 'as nearest of kin to the throne in the line of succession,' is entitled to be Regent at the age of twenty-five. H.R.H. will be twenty-four on October 25, and consequently after that day, in his twenty-fifth year when, according to the Constitution, he ought to be Regent. The Infanta" [Isabel Maria] "however, has declared herself to be Regent by the Constitution until the majority of the Queen. The Infant himself remonstrated with great bitterness upon this usurpation of his rights."

Canning to Wellesley. October 5.—"I send you a private letter from A'Court, which will show you how critical is the state of affairs at Lisbon.

"Are you aware that there is a party . . . who wish for a pretext for keeping Portugal still in the hands of the Emperor of Brazil?

"It is the interest of all Europe that the separation should be effected and completed as soon as possible. In this I am sure Prince Metternich will agree with me. The way to that separation is to avoid unnecessary discussions. . . .

"The delay of the Infant Dom Miguel's decision may be of the most fatal consequences. Coupled with the madness of Spain, it may produce a crisis in Portugal which no management of Sir Wm. A'Court's may be able to weather. The Chambers will infallibly put the two things together and will conceive Dom Miguel's restiveness as to the oath, and the determination of Spain to retain the Portuguese arms with their soldiers, as part of a plan for placing Dom Miguel at the head of an army of deserters, and presenting him on the frontiers as the champion of absolute power. I shall not be surprised at any extremities to which the Assemblies may go under these impressions, and unfortunately Prince Metternich has not furnished me through you with anything by which I could hope effectually to remove them.

"As to Spain, I verily believe that some such plan is in her head—or in the head of the faction that rules what is called (for want of another name) the *Government* of that country. . . .

"Ministers and statesmen at a distance discuss very much at their ease what changes shall be made, and what language shall be held, in Portugal, but I promise them the task is more difficult than they are aware, to govern, and guide the first spring of a Nation to something like free institutions. We do what we can, but if we are thwarted and misconstrued, we must throw up the game and leave it to Prince Metternich to play it his own way. But let him be assured that in that case he cannot play it with circulars. . . . And how it is to be played otherwise, in Dom Miguel's sense, while we have the mouth of the Tagus and while M. de Villèle lies between the Peninsula and the rest of the Continent, I do not exactly see. However, that is his affair, not ours.

"P.S.—People here say that Prince Metternich will send for Constantine to Vienna; and that then, with the little Napoleon and Dom Miguel in hand, he will have a sort of *pépinière de prétendans* to transplant to the North, South and West, as occasion may require."

Wellesley to Canning. October 12.—"I have communicated to Prince Metternich the substance of your Despatch No. 38, with

many of its inclosures, particularly directing his attention to Sir Wm. A'Court's report of the 20th ult., which removes all doubt as to the conciliatory disposition of the Portuguese Government towards that of Spain. I then communicated to him your instructions to Mr. Lamb[1] (founded upon the conviction of the dangerous consequences which would ensue from the obstinate refusal of the Spanish Government to restore to Portugal the arms, accoutrements, etc., of the Portuguese deserters) to withdraw from Madrid, leaving a Chargé d'Affaires to carry on the business of the mission, unless the Spanish Government should acquiesce in the just demands of the Infanta Regent in time to enable the intelligence to reach Lisbon previously to the meeting of the Chambers.

"Prince Metternich, after perusing these papers, said that he felt great satisfaction at the moderate and conciliatory line of conduct which the Infanta Regent had adopted towards Spain. He could not, however, help comparing the relative situations of the two Governments to those of two neighbours, one of whom is afflicted with the small-pox, while the other is in good health. The sick man intimates to his neighbour that he will do all in his power to prevent his sickness from reaching him. The other replies: "I am much obliged to you, but your house is full of infection, and I have the greatest dread of your neighbourhood." This might be applied to the actual state of Portugal and Spain. A Constitution had been established in Portugal, and that Constitution had already thrown out symptoms of a revolutionary tendency which the utmost efforts of the Infanta (supposing her assurances to her uncle to be sincere) cannot prevent from spreading to Spain. He considered the situation of Spain to be most critical; he entirely condemned the conduct of Spain. . . . He treated with contempt the notion of an army being assembled in Portugal, at the head of which Dom Miguel was to place himself. Dom Miguel, he pledged himself, had no thoughts of stirring from Vienna, and were he to entertain any such project, he would be required by the Emperor to relinquish it."

October 13.—"For several days previous to the receipt of your last despatches I was unfortunately confined to the house by a severe cold, during which period I was prevented from seeing either the Baron de Villa Secca or the Vicomte de Rezende.[2]

[1] Afterwards third Viscount Melbourne, Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain.
[2] Emissary of the Infanta Isabella, Regent of Portugal.

"I have given you a faithful relation of what passed between Prince Metternich and myself at our interview yesterday. You will judge then of my surprise at hearing this morning from the Vicomte de Rezende that the Infant had some days ago taken the Oath" [of adherence to the Constitution of Portugal] "in the presence of himself and the Baron de Villa Secca.

"It is impossible, I think, that Prince Metternich should not have been aware of this circumstance, when I saw him yesterday. I cannot therefore account for his motive for having deceived me; unless from his dilatory habits he may not as yet have prepared his despatches announcing this event to the different Courts, and was unwilling that I should be the first to communicate intelligence to which so much importance is attached.

"Since writing the above, I have seen the Baron de Villa Secca, who says that he believes Prince Metternich's motive for not acknowledging that the Infant had taken the Oath was that H.R.H. himself expressed his particular desire that nothing should be divulged until all his letters to the Emperor should be prepared; and even until the ceremony of betrothing him to the Infanta, Donna Maria da Gloria, should have taken place.

"The dispensation from Rome is expected in two or three days. I have, however, impressed upon M. de Villa Secca the absolute necessity of his not losing any time in apprising the Portuguese Regency of the Infant's having taken the Oath; and I have now the honour to enclose his letter announcing that event to the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, which he requests may be forwarded by the first safe opportunity."

October 30.—"The dispensation applied for at Rome having reached this place a few days ago, the ceremony of betrothing the Infant Dom Miguel to the Infanta Donna Maria da Gloria[1] took place at the Palace on Sunday, 29th instant, in the presence of the Emperor and several of the Archdukes, Prince Metternich, the Pope's Internuncio, the Baron de Villa Secca, and the Vicomte de Rezende. . . .

"I understand that the Infant has addressed a letter to the Emperor Dom Pedro in which, after stating that he has complied with his orders in every particular, he urges his rights under the constitution which, he says, he cannot consent to relinquish."

[1] Dom Miguel, after usurping the throne of Portugal in 1828, refused to marry Donna Maria, who was sent back to Brazil.

AUSTRIA.—1827-1829

VII

Lord Dudley Secretary of State—Sultan declines all intervention—Death of Canning—Destruction of Turkish fleet—Wellesley created Lord Cowley—Review of Austrian Policy—Russo-Turkish War—Miguel in Portugal—Russo-Turkish War—Opinion of Austrian Emperor—Proposed recall of Queen Maria da Gloria to Brazil—Russo-Turkish peace—Metternich on European Situation—And on the peace—Cowley on Eastern Question.

1827.—In April of this year Canning became Prime Minister, and Lord Dudley[1] Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Wellesley to Dudley. June 20.—" The principles upon which the Sultan . . . has grounded his refusal[2] to admit the intervention of any Foreign Power in the affairs of Greece are, in many respects, conformable to those so often brought forward by Prince Metternich in the progress of the discussions respecting Greece, and so pertinaciously adhered to by the Austrian Government."

July 31.—In reporting that an Austrian Mission had been sent to Constantinople to confer with the Porte, Wellesley said: " The object of these conferences . . . was to urge the Turkish Government to accede to the overtures of the Allies respecting Greece, and to point out the danger to the Porte of any further resistance. The reply of the Dragoman is remarkable for its violence, threatening retaliation upon the foreigners residing within the Turkish territory, and particularly upon the subjects of H.M., should the Allies be induced to resort to coercive measures in consequence of the refusal of the Turkish Government to admit their intervention.

" The reply of the Reis Effendi is more temperate, but not less

[1] John William Ward, fourth Viscount Dudley and Ward, created Earl of Dudley 1827.

[2] The Sultan addressed a Circular Note to the Five Powers declining either then or at any future time the intervention of the Allies in the affairs of Greece.

determined. He declares that the Sultan is prepared to suffer the last extremity of distress rather than submit to the interference of foreigners in his affairs . . . that the Porte had given her answer in the manifesto lately issued, and that she would never vary in the smallest point from that answer. . . .

"These reports certainly proved (if their correctness can be relied upon) that Austria is acting with perfect good faith in the support she is giving to the negociations of the three Powers."

Granville to Wellesley. August 8.—"I send you back the messenger with the melancholy intelligence which has just reached me from London, that all hopes of saving Canning's life are given up and that he was not expected to outlive Monday night. I am not able to write upon any other subject, and cannot express how I feel upon this, for I am quite overset."

Canning died on August 8, after a week's illness, brought on, it was believed, by overwork and anxiety. He lived to see the reward of his exertions for the Independence of Greece, in the Treaty of London,[1] which was signed in July.

November 18.—On November 18, the Ambassador received the news from Constantinople of the "total defeat and 'annihilation' (that being the Admiral's word) of the Turkish and Egyptian Fleets on October 20, in the Port of Navarin, by the combined squadrons of England, France and Russia." . . . "Nothing could exceed the indignation of the Ottoman Government at the intelligence of the destruction of their fleets. The Internuncio's efforts were entirely directed to preventing any violent decision on the part of the Porte."

Shortly after this event a formal demand for the mediation of Austria was made by the Sultan. The Emperor, however, refused the office of mediator, as the bases upon which the negotiation was to proceed were :

(1) That the Allies should desist from all interference in the affairs of Greece.
(2) That the Porte should be indemnified for the destruction of her fleet.
(3) That the Allies should offer an explanation of their conduct to the Sultan.

[1] By which England, France and Russia recognised the autonomy of Greece under the suzerainty of the Sultan, and agreed to compel Turkey to accept their mediation to restore peace.

In December, Prince Metternich sent a dispatch to Count Esterhazy, of which Sir Henry wrote as follows :

"Its principal object is to show that England and France are playing the game of Russia ; that any war with the Porte must terminate in the aggrandisement of Russia, and that the views of the Allies respecting Greece, even supposing them to be realised, can only be advantageous to Russia. It represents the policy of the Russian Cabinet invariably to have been directed to conquest and extension of territory. The late Emperor Alexander was the only Russian Sovereign who, for many centuries past, had not made extension of territory his principal object, yet that in the course of his reign considerable additions had been made . . . to say nothing of the acquisition of Poland at the Peace. He had been unpopular in Russia because he had not been ambitious of adding to his territories at the expense of the Porte. . . .

"Feeling desirous of ascertaining what were the real sentiments of this Government relative to the supposed design of Russia of adding to her territories the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, I took the opportunity in the course of the conversation which ensued after Prince Metternich had read the despatch to me to observe that from their geographical position the permanent possession of those Provinces by Russia could not be viewed with indifference by Austria. He immediately started up from his seat and said with great warmth : 'It would pave the way to the destruction of the Austrian Monarchy, and although the Emperor has not yet added a single man to his force upon the frontier, yet the moment it shall appear to be the intention of Russia to take permanent possession of those provinces H.I.M. will not only protest against such a measure but oppose it if necessary at the head of 400,000 men."

December.—In consequence of the strained relations with the Porte the Allied Ambassadors left Constantinople early in December.

January 6, 1828.—At the beginning of this year Sir Henry Wellesley was created a peer, with the title of Baron Cowley of Wellesley. On January 6th he wrote to Lord Dudley :

"The last news from Constantinople . . . represents that Capital as continuing in a state of the greatest tranquillity . . . I learn that the letter addressed by the Grand Vizier to Prince Metternich of the 2th October last, soliciting the good offices of the Court of Austria for the preservation of amicable relations between the Porte and the Allied Powers, has not yet received an answer,

and that the Vizier has learnt by anticipation that the Cabinet of Vienna has not consented to the request of the Porte. . . . The greatest disunion continues to prevail amongst the Greeks whose Government is almost a nonentity. Atrocious acts of piracy directed indifferently against all nations are also still perpetrated by such among them who are possessed of vessels, the decrees of the Government for the repression of these acts being perfectly nugatory, which would be the less to be wondered at were it indeed true, as is generally asserted, that two of the members thereof are owners of several of these vessels.

"With respect to the Principalities . . . the fear of invasion has almost completely subsided and affairs are returned in a great measure to their former channel. Hussein Pasha, notorious as the exterminator of the Janissaries during the Revolution of 1826, is named to the chief command of the Turkish fortresses on the Danube."

Attacks upon Austrian policy with regard to Greece having appeared in the English newspapers, Cowley sent Lord Dudley the following review of Austria's conduct in the matter:

February 5. *Confidential.*—"From the first breaking out of the disturbances in Greece up to the present period Austria has acted upon the principle that no one State is justified in interfering in the disputes between another State and its subjects (excepting by advice and remonstrance) unless called upon by the latter State so to do, or unless its own tranquillity is likely to be endangered by the disputes. Upon this principle she declined to become a party to the Protocol of April 4th, 1826, and afterwards to the Treaty of London, but at the same time promised to use all her influence in support of the overtures of the Allies at Constantinople. It is maintained here that in point of principle there is a wide difference between the interference of Austria to put down the Neapolitan Revolution and that of the Allies in the affairs of Greece, the interference of Austria at Naples being defended upon the grounds that it was not only expressly solicited by the King, but rendered necessary by the revolutionary spirit which has extended itself from Naples to the rest of Italy, endangering the tranquillity of the Emperor's Italian dominions.

"The conduct of the Internuncio at Constantinople and of

the Austrian Commanders in the Archipelago form the principal grounds of complaint against Austria. If any credit is to be given to the Internuncio's reports to Prince Metternich, many of which I have seen, it is impossible not to admit that M. d'Ottenfels has used his utmost endeavours to convince the Ottoman Government that it is for their interest to make such concessions in favour of the Greeks as shall satisfy the Allies.

". . . She [Austria] would undoubtedly have preferred that the Great Powers had abstained from all interference in the quarrel between the Porte and her Greek subjects; at the same time she expressed her readiness to join with the other Great Powers in amicable negociations with the Porte for the purpose of obtaining suitable concessions from her in favour of Greece, and was even prepared, in concert with those Powers, should the Sultan refuse to listen to their advice, to intimate to him that his obstinate rejection of all pacific measures would compel the Powers not only to draw nearer to the Greeks, but ultimately to lend a favourable ear to their pretensions. From the period when the Allies bound themselves by the stipulations of the Treaty of London, and particularly since the Battle of Navarino, she has exerted herself at Constantinople for the purpose of inducing the Porte to make such timely concessions in favour of the Greeks as should avert the danger with which she was threatened. Fresh instructions . . . have, within these few days, been transmitted to the Internuncio, and as I understand, with some hope that the Sultan may be prevailed upon to offer such terms of accommodation to the Greeks as shall satisfy the Allies and deprive Russia of all pretext for invading the Turkish territory. . . . It certainly appears to me that Austria has fulfilled every promise which she made to the Allies when she declined making herself a party to the engagements into which they had entered. . . ."

February 10.—The Turkish Government suddenly assumed a violent tone and issued a proclamation calling upon every individual to take up arms in defence of his religion. "It contains the most violent invectives against the Allies generally but against the Russian Cabinet in particular. Russia is described as the eternal enemy of the Porte, and as steadily pursuing one object —her own aggrandisement by the destruction of the Turkish Empire."

The proclamation declared the determination of the Sultan not

to fulfil the stipulations of the Treaty signed at Ackermann,[1] but to reserve the sums which the Porte was required to pay to Russia, to defray the expenses of a war with that Power. The Sultan refused to make any further concessions to Greece since those which he had made had been rejected by the Allied Ambassadors.

April 26.—On April 26th war was declared between Russia and Turkey; in May the Emperor Nicholas joined his army and took part in the campaign. Lord Heytesbury (formerly Sir William A'Court) now British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, was sent on a mission to the Russian Headquarters and kept Lord Cowley informed of the progress of the war. Stratford Canning was our representative at Constantinople.

Early in the campaign the British Government consented to the employment of French troops in the Morea for the purpose of compelling Ibrahim Pasha to evacuate that province.

Cowley to Dudley. Confidential. April 29.—"I was yesterday at a breakfast at Court at which the Emperor was present. . . . H.I.M. began to talk of the Russian preparations for a separate war with Turkey, expressing his apprehension that little faith was to be placed in the assurances given by that Government that they entertained no designs of conquest or aggrandisement. Upon my observing that these assurances had very recently been renewed, H.I.M. observed that admitting them to be sincere at the present moment 'que l'appétit venait en mangeant' and, the war once begun, a thousand pretexts would be found for eluding these promises. The object of the French Armament was, H.I.M. continued, entirely beyond his comprehension, but was an additional source of disquietude to Austria.

". . . The Emperor then adverted to the affairs of Portugal, saying that he had done and would continue to do everything in his power to bring Dom Miguel to a just sense of his duty to his brother, the Emperor Dom Pedro, and that indeed . . . he was bound by every principle of honour and good faith to abide by the engagements he had taken at Vienna. That unless H.R.H. was a greater dissembler than he was willing to believe, he had left Vienna with the best intentions, but that he should have been so misled by the Queen, and by other civil advisers, indicated great weakness of character and want of principle. But he hoped that the measures

[1] Signed September 4, 1826. The Treaty secured to Russia the navigation of the Black Sea.

of our two Governments at Lisbon would have due weight with Dom Miguel.

"The late proceedings of the Infant Dom Miguel, and the intelligence of the abdication of the Emperor Dom Pedro in favour of his daughter, have naturally excited much attention here.

"Prince Metternich is of opinion that nothing can invalidate the clear title of the Infanta Dona Maria da Gloria to the Crown of Portugal. He concludes that she will have the support of all the Powers of Europe and is of opinion that, were Dom Miguel to unsurp the throne, the functions of all the Foreign Ministers resident at Lisbon must necessarily cease. H.H. took the trouble, towards the end of the year 1826 (in order to satisfy Dom Miguel) to enter into a minute examination of his supposed title to the Throne of Portugal, and the result of that examination was decidedly contrary to the claims which H.R.H. had been induced, in consequence of the representations of some of his partisans in Portugal, to submit to the consideration of Prince Metternich. . . . Prince Metternich is of opinion that everything which has been done in consequence of the proceedings of Dom Miguel should have been done in the name of the young Queen, instead of that of the Emperor Dom Pedro, since by the Emperor's act of abdication the Infanta Dona Maria da Gloria is Queen of Portugal. He does not approve of the principle upon which the provisional government at Oporto has been established. It would have been much better, he says, that Count Palmella and other diplomatic agents should have proclaimed a Regency on the behalf of the young Queen, or of the Emperor of Brazil, as the nearest relation and consequently the guardian of Her Majesty. To establish a Government acting solely on the behalf of the Emperor of Brazil is, in fact (H.H. is of opinion), to put again in question that which has already been decided, and which the Governments of Great Britain and Austria have been so anxious to arrive at: the complete and final separation of Portugal and Brazil."

In June Lord Dudley resigned and was succeeded at the Foreign Office by Lord Aberdeen.

Cowley to Stratford Canning.—August 29.—. . . "It appears that he" [Lord Heytesbury] "had a most satisfactory audience of the Emperor of Russia, that he found nothing like a spirit of conquest

George Hamilton Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen.

From the picture by J. Partridge in the National Portrait Gallery.

either in the Emperor or those who surround him, nothing to give the slightest alarm to Europe or to afford reason to fear any interruption of the general peace. The Emperor, if the Turks persist in not making any overtures to him, will endeavour to arrive at a peace by force of arms. . . . Lord Heytesbury states . . . that the reinforcements which are arriving will hardly get up in time to allow for the passage of the Balkans during the present campaign. It will be a great deal, he says, if Choumla and Varna are taken before its close, for the Emperor, having no object at heart but the conquest of peace, seems determined to attempt nothing without a certainty of success, nor to risk the loss of a life nor the expenditure of a dollar without necessity.

"The reinforcements were expected to be in line towards the end of this month when the Emperor would return to the Army and resume the offensive."

Cowley to Heytesbury. September 16.—"I assure you that there are no grounds for your suspicions relative to the policy of Metternich. He is perfectly well informed of the distresses and privations of the Russian Army,[1] of the Emperor's embarrassments, and of his desire for peace. They are painted in much stronger colours (particularly the distresses of the Army) in the Prince of Hesse Homburg's despatches, than in yours. It is Metternich's wish that the Turks should endeavour to make peace, now that they could obtain tolerable terms; it is also his desire that the Greek question should be settled without delay, and all his instructions to the Internuncio are directed to these objects. He is as much convinced as you appear to be that a protracted war would either terminate in the ruin of the Turkish Empire, or leave it in so crippled a state as would be highly disadvantageous if not dangerous in its consequences to Austria. He, as well as everybody else, thinks that the Emperor cannot effect his objects in the present campaign, and all his (Prince M.'s) views are turned to the re-establishment of peace during the Winter.

"It is singular that the Internuncio is entirely silent upon the subject of the Pasha of Matchin. His arrival at Constantinople is not even mentioned. As he delivered up his fortress without even attempting to defend it he was not likely to meet with a good

[1] The Russians suffered a severe check at Widdin, where they were forced to retire, leaving the camp in the possession of the enemy.

reception at Constantinople, and if the Emperor Nicholas had not told you that he was certain his message had been delivered to the Sultan, I should be inclined to believe that the Pasha had not ventured to present himself to H.H. The Pasha of Shail, who made a gallant defence, is supposed, after having been decently received by his Master, to have been strangled privately. If the Emperor chose to make use of Austria to convey any message to the Sultan, I believe he might do so with the most perfect reliance that his confidence would not be abused. . . . Strong suspicions are entertained here of the intentions of the French Government. Nobody believes that, once landed in the Morea, they will think of adhering to their engagements, or that they will retire from that country until the Greek Question is settled and until the war between Russia and Turkey is brought to a conclusion. They will then assume to themselves the merit of having been principally instrumental in settling the Greek Question and in bringing about a peace between the Porte and Russia.

"Hitherto every attempt to induce the Ottoman Government to make overtures for peace has been treated with contempt. They appear determined to fight the battle to the last, and protest that the capture of Varna and Choumla, and even the passage of the Balkan by the Russian Army would produce no alteration in their determination."

October.—In October Prince Metternich had several conferences with a M. de Reisnitch who had been employed at Odessa in supplying the Russian Army with provisions, and who had been in the habit of communicating confidentially with Count Nesselrode. The Prince asked M. de Reisnitch how it happened that the Emperor had entered so precipitately into this war, and apparently with a force inadequate to the objects which he had in view. He replied that the Emperor had been much deceived by the reports of several military officers who, in the character of attachés to the Mission, accompanied M. de Ribaupierre to Turkey, and had traversed the country in all directions with a view of ascertaining the means of defence which the Porte might possess. These officers represented that the suppression of the Janissaries had deprived the Sultan of the only military force he possessed, no progress, as far as their observation went, having been made in replacing it by other troops. These reports finally decided the Emperor Nicholas upon embarking in the war with Turkey since he calculated either upon immediate submission to his demands on the part of the Sultan, or upon the

certainty that there would be nothing to oppose his march to Constantinople.

During this month great efforts were made by Austria to induce the Ottoman Government to make overtures for an accommodation with Russia. The Turks, however, maintained that they were not the aggressors and would not be the first to make overtures for peace. Moreover they would not agree to a peace which would not secure them from foreign aggression for a long period of years.

Cowley to S. Canning. October 26.—"Letters of the 17th inst. have been received from Lord Heytesbury containing intelligence of the capture of Varna on the 11th. The Capitan Pasha seems to have held out to the last, and to have obtained an honourable capitulation for himself and three hundred of his followers who had taken refuge in the Citadel. The fall of the place seems to be owing to Jussuf Pasha, who repaired to the Russian camp with that part of the Turkish force immediately under his command amounting to three thousand men. It is thought, however, that the place must in any case have surrendered in five or six days. . . . Every exertion was making to strengthen the fortifications of Varna, and the siege of Silistria was to be prosecuted with the utmost vigour. These are the objects to which, for the present, the efforts of the Russians are principally directed."

Cowley to Heytesbury. November 3.—"We have no news from the frontier since the capture of Varna. Our accounts from Constantinople show no alteration in the language of the Ottoman Government and no appearance of a disposition to make overtures for peace. A strict silence was maintained upon the subject of the evacuation of the Morea" [by the Turks] "but the news of the surrender of the fortresses,[1] which was unexpected, seemed to have created much gloom and dissatisfaction, and it was said that a force had been sent to oppose any attempt on the part of the French to pass the Isthmus of Corinth."

December.—"Another overture has been made by the Russian Minister to prevail upon the Porte to send Plenipotentiaries to Truedos. His proposal was, as usual, rejected, the Reis Effendi saying that if the Allies desired to negociate, French and English

[1] Patras, Navarino and Modon surrendered to the French, October 6.

Plenipotentiaries might come to Constantinople and might even be followed by one from Russia."

January 6, 1829.—In a private and confidential dispatch of January 6th, Cowley gave Lord Aberdeen an account of a conversation which had taken place between the Emperor Francis and Count Strogonoff, the Russian Minister, at an audience granted to the latter, M. de Tatistcheff also being present.

The Count had attended the Emperor Nicholas in his last campaign against Turkey, and explained that owing to the Emperor's having entered upon it with inadequate forces it had not been as successful as it would otherwise have been, but expressed his conviction that the next campaign would be completely successful. M. de Tatistcheff observed that had Austria made common cause with Russia the war would probably have been brought to conclusion in a few weeks. To this the Emperor replied:

"You know I have always considered this war as unjust, and nothing can ever induce me to engage in an unjust war, particularly against Turkey who never took advantage of my disastrous contests with France, and has never, since the commencement of my reign, given me any cause to complain of her."

Count Strogonoff immediately said that such being the opinions of H.I.M. it was fortunate that the Emperor Nicholas possessed the power and the means of accomplishing the objects for which he was contending without the assistance of Austria, which drew from the Emperor the reply: "Tant mieux pour lui s'il n'a pas besoin de mon appui."

M. de Tatistcheff afterwards told Prince Metternich that it was evidently the intention of the Emperor to avoid all conversation upon political subjects, but that he was equally determined to introduce them in order that Count Strogonoff might see that the Emperor had his own opinions respecting the war, and was not to be deterred from stating them if he saw occasion for so doing.

In spite of the efforts of Austria to induce Turkey to enter into negotiations for peace, the Internuncio reported that the prospect of the approaching campaign and the increased difficulties of the Sultan's situation had abated nothing of his resolution and firmness, and that the preparations for the campaign were proceeding with the greatest activity. It was expected that the Ottoman force in the field would not be less than 300,000 men.

During the summer the Turks had some successes, but on the approach of a Russian army to Constantinople in August, the Sultan, for the first time, showed some disposition to consider the Russian proposals for peace. It was not until September, however,

that he consented to negotiate, and signed the Treaty of Adrianople (Sept. 14). By this Treaty Russia maintained the Pruth Boundary —as fixed by the Treaty of Bucharest in 1812. She restored all her conquests in Europe, but obtained the protectorate of Moldavia and Wallachia, which, however, remained under the suzerainty of the Porte. The opening of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles was agreed to by Turkey.

Cowley to Heytesbury. March.—"Austria must certainly feel an interest in the terms of any treaty of peace and would, in my opinion, be entitled to object to any condition which should tend essentially to weaken the power of Turkey, but I see nothing which can justify a belief that she wishes to be first in the negociation or to interfere in it any further than is necessary to her own security. . . . I cannot, I confess, see any just grounds for the doubts and suspicions which seem to be entertained respecting the conduct of Austria. From the first breaking out of the disturbances in Greece she has uniformly and steadily adhered to the principles which she then avouched. Conformably to these principles she declined being a party to the Treaty of London, but promised to exert all her influence at Constantinople for the purpose of prevailing upon the Porte to acquiesce in the conditions of the Treaty, and this promise I maintain she has scrupulously fulfilled. Her general policy is the same as that which united the four Governments at the period of Lord Londonderry's death, and it would, perhaps, have been for the advantage of Europe if the other Powers had never abandoned it. Who knows but that sooner or later these four Powers may not be called upon to unite for the purpose of curbing the ambitious projects which there is too much reason to believe are entertained by France."

Cowley to Aberdeen. May 24.—"Count Apponyi, in a despatch of the 15th inst, gives the substance of conversations which had passed between him and the Marquises of Palmella and Rezende relative to the affairs of Portugal. They both disapprove the proposed measure of recalling the Queen Dona Maria da Gloria to Brazil which, were it carried into effect, would, they consider, be destructive of all her interests in Europe. They admit there is nothing in the conduct of Dom Miguel which can justify the calumnious articles which are every day inserted in some of the French and English Journals, but they speak of his

character as devoid of firmness, and they consider him as completely under the control and direction of the Queen Dowager. . . . Their present object seems to be to prevent the departure of the young Queen."

September 16.—"It appears from the Internuncio's reports that the state of the public feeling at Constantinople imperiously required the immediate conclusion of peace upon any terms which could be obtained from Russia. That Sadik Effendi who had, formerly held the situation of Reis Effendi, and another officer of rank, had been consequently sent to Adrianople with unlimited powers to treat upon any terms which should be offered by General Diebitsch. In the meanwhile the firm and decided measures adopted by the Turkish Government had defeated the designs of the disaffected in the Capital. No troops were admitted into the city excepting those belonging to the regular army upon which the Sultan could depend, and . . . the utmost tranquillity prevailed at Constantinople.

"The Internuncio, while he laments that the Sultan did not avail himself of the opportunities which have occurred in the course of this war, when he might have concluded peace upon honourable, if not upon advantageous conditions, speaks in high terms of praise of the promptitude and decision with which, when all other resources had failed him, he took the only step which could save his Empire, and checked by firm and vigorous measures the dangerous insurrection which threatened him in his Capital, and which had for its object the destruction of the new Institutions and the re-establishment of the tyranny of the Janissaries. It may be hoped that as the Sultan has thrown himself upon the generosity of the Emperor, H.I.M. will not bear too hard upon him and will not forego the glorious opportunity now afforded him of proving the sincerity of his professions of moderation."

The following letters (translated) from Metternich are interesting as showing his views on the European situation at this time.

Metternich to Cowley. August 18.—"We have now arrived, my dear Ambassador, at the crisis in the malady which has afflicted Europe for several years. Two recent and mad events announce

it. One is the change in the French Ministry [1]—a change so complete and of such a nature that the Court will need all its strength to survive the crisis. . . .

"The development of the Russian operations in Europe and Asia is the second important event. We shall now see *Moderation* put to the test. It will be made very clear in any case that the *Trilateral* affair was a part of the Russian game and that the Allies have merely held the ladder for the Russians to enter the sanctuary of the Ottoman Empire. To my sincere regret—I might even say to my absolute despair—I see that in the East as in the West I was equally right.

"I am busy with despatches for your Government. I shall state my convictions for the hundredth time, but no one will believe me, I foresee, any more to-day than in the past.

"One rather curious fact is that *on the same day and at the same hour* the news of Canning's death and that of the fall of the French Ministry reached me at Königswart. When in the future I feel the need of a crisis I shall only have to be here on August 13th at 2 o'clock in the afternoon!"

August 28.—"Accept my sincere thanks for sending me Mr. Gordon's [2] interesting reports. As you have been made acquainted with those of the Internuncio I have nothing to tell you about the historic side of Constantinople.

"As to the moral side of the affair—that goes on in the way it was bound to do. . . . In this great struggle the Russians were obliged to be victorious or to be beaten. In the first case the Powers could scarcely hope to induce moderation on the part of the conqueror by means of injustice towards the vanquished; one has therefore acted on trust. To-day it is for His Imperial Majesty of Russia to justify this sentiment.

"In the second case injustice was a bad way to influence a victorious Sultan. *Everything* which was assumed and acted on was thus erroneous, and the Court of Russia alone will derive profit from the mistakes which have been offered up to it like sacrifices.

"It is so impossible for me to foresee what will be the terms of the peace, which I have no doubt will soon be made, that I refrain from speculating on the possibilities. One thing is certain—the

[1] Polignac was now in power.
[2] Afterwards Sir Robert Gordon, Envoy Extraordinary to Constantinople, 1828-31.

Peace will be just what the Emperor Nicholas and his weak and frivolous advisers decree that it shall be. We live in a century where nothing is so common as to see those who are wrong triumph.

"*Confidence in august moderation* was the watchword of the Alliance. There is nothing to find fault with in that if, at the same time, the terms of moderation had been carefully defined. There will be no *material* or rather territorial conquests in *Europe*—conquests, that is to say, which oblige geographers to alter the colour of their maps. Let us suppose the Ottoman Empire to be coloured red, the two Principalities on the Danube and Greece will remain red. But these two parts of the Empire will none the less belong to the Monarch of the North.

"The Russian *protectorate* of the Principalities will be exchanged for actual *government*. There will be Princes for life; a Moldavian and Wallachian Army; the Russian sanitary lines on the Pruth will extend to the Danube. Is it not essential to save both the two provinces and Europe *from the plague*? They will suggest our raising our quarantine in Buccovina and Transylvania; we shall not do it, and we shall sin against *confidence* and disturb the internal repose of the Principalities by the presence of our troops.

"There will be a Greece under the Sovereignty of the Sultan. In the event of a Russian War, 29,000 Moldavians and Wallachians would form the advance-guard of the army of invasion and 12,000 Greeks would operate as a separate body of troops.

"Such is the horoscope which I cast of the approaching Peace, as far as Europe is concerned. *In Asia* territorial cessions will be agreed on, and the Armenian and Greek populations in Asia Minor will form a secret Alliance with the Monarch who is the protector of their religions.

"Large sums will be demanded from the Sultan. He will agree to anything if—as I think is certain—the terror of invasion is held over the Divan. If by some bad turn of fortune General Diebitsch were forced to retreat—which would result in disaster—the Sultan would make no concessions whatever.

"Everything will be settled one way or the other before the end of October. I bet on the Russians.

"That, my dear Ambassador, is the end which I foresee to this long and dangerous business. Europe will congratulate itself on its conclusion and the world will acclaim *Russian moderation!*

"This is a rustic's letter. I write from the depth of my forests and in the calm of retreat. I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you again, and if my political forecast should have to be modified, the regard, confidence and friendship which I have for you will last my lifetime."

Extract from a letter of a member of the Austrian Embassy at St. Petersburg, September 30, 1829.

"The news of the signing of peace which arrived here this morning was received at first with great joy; but many voices are already heard in high circles protesting that *the Emperor has not gained enough by his successes.* The Russian Army is credited with too much generosity in not having occupied Constantinople after having advanced to its very gates; it is considered a political error that Russia should have neglected to seize the opportunity of settling the fate of the principalities by incorporating them in the Empire. . . .

"Lord Heytesbury has entirely changed his language. He no longer speaks of resistance, but on the other hand he declares himself to be strongly on the side of the aggrandisement of Greece. He sees in this new-born State a barrier against Russia's encroachments; he even maintains that Constantinople ought to be the seat of the Greek Government. In his opinion that is the aim which the Powers should keep exclusively in view, and which they should try to attain with the least possible delay, the Porte being quite unable to fill the place which the general interest of Europe assigned to her. He agrees that this arrangement would destroy commerce in the Levant for England, but he regards this inconvenience as of secondary importance."

Cowley to Aberdeen. October 17.—"Prince Metternich has submitted some observations" [on the Peace] "to H.I.M. . . . The following is the substance of them:

"H.H. begins by congratulating H.I.M. upon the conclusion of a peace which, however disastrous to the Turks, has for the present rescued their Empire from entire destruction, and however objectionable in many respects to the Courts most interested in the preservation of the Ottoman Power, has nevertheless relieved them from the embarrassment which must have been the necessary consequence of the further successes of the arms of Russia. He

then proceeds to the object which he has principally in view; which is to shew the necessity of a careful revision of the several departments of the State, but particularly of those of Finance and of War, since (H.H. observes) although the Austrian Government has maintained throughout this contest a line of conduct equally correct and dignified, yet that it must be admitted that the economical system introduced into the military establishment at the peace of 1815, but carried a little too far, had precluded H.I.M. from assuming such an attitude as (could it have been assumed) would probably have forestalled many of the evils which are likely to follow from the complete triumph obtained by Russia over Turkey. He trusts, however, that the Emperor of Russia and the other great Powers may now be induced to return to those principles which were the foundation of their Alliance at the termination of the war against Buonaparte, and he has little doubt of the acquiescence of the French Government in those principles, provided the persons which compose the present administration are enabled to maintain themselves in power. It is, however, incumbent upon Austria to be prepared for whatever may happen, and although her military establishments have of late been considerably augmented, yet much remains to be done in order to place them upon the footing required by the circumstances of the times. H.H. concluded by proposing . . . that a report should be made to H.I.M. upon the state of the Empire. The weak condition of the Frontier and the necessity of adopting immediate measures for strengthening it will certainly form a part of the report. . . .

"Your Lordship will see by this statement that the object of Prince Metternich is not to form any new connection, but to revive the old Alliance which he considers to have been virtually suspended by the Treaty of London."

Cowley to Aberdeen. December 25.—"Prince Metternich expressed his great satisfaction at . . . the determination of H.M.'s Government to put an end to the Triple Alliance as soon as its objects shall have been accomplished, as well as their desire for the restoration of an entire union and concert between the Great Powers of Europe.

"It cannot be denied that the calamities which have befallen Turkey in consequence of the War are principally, if not entirely, to be attributed to the Sultan's rejection of every proposal on the

part of Russia to enter upon a negociation for peace—and so strongly was I impressed with this truth that, seeing the erroneous notions which have found their way into some of our newspapers, I had it in contemplation, previous to the receipt of your despatch, and propose now to address a few observations to Your Lordship upon the subject, though perhaps it be not strictly within the line of my duties at this Court.

"Shortly after the intelligence of the Battle of Navarino reached Constantinople, the Allied Ambassadors, failing in their endeavours to prevail upon the Ottoman Government to acquiesce in the conditions of the Treaty of London, retired from the Turkish Capital. Upon their departure the Sultan issued that address which, I believe, furnished the grounds for the Russian declaration of war. As soon as the intentions of Russia were known every effort was made by H.M.'s Government, and by that of France, through the medium of those Powers who still had representatives at Constantinople, to induce the Sultan to avert the evils impending over him by timely explanation; for at that period the Governments of Europe generally, and that of Russia in particular, fully expected that the contest would terminate in a few weeks by the submission of the Porte. The Sultan, however, was deaf to all entreaties and peremptorily declined making any conciliatory overture to the Russian Cabinet.

"I have not only a perfect recollection of the despatch which Your Lordship did me the honour to address to me at the close of the campaign of 1829, but have often referred to it with strong feelings of regret that the salutary advice which it contains should not have succeeded in awakening the Sultan to a sense of the danger of his situation. That advice was founded (as has since been proved most fatally for the Porte) upon a correct view of the consequences of a perseverance in the contest, and the sentiments of H.M.'s Government were faithfully conveyed to the Sultan and strenuously enforced by the Austrian Representative at Constantinople. Had Sultan Mahmoud consented to treat with Russia at the end of the first campaign, whatever sacrifices might have been required of him as the price of peace, he would at least have retired from the contest without any loss of honour. The unexpected resistance, indeed, opposed by the Turks in the first Campaign to the advance of the Russian Army, and their success in several encounters with their enemy, had added much to their military reputation, and would (had the war terminated at that period) have left it almost

doubtful whether the Ottoman power was or was not of strength sufficient to contend singly with that of Russia. Whereas the second campaign exhibited one continued series of defeat and disaster, and the passage of the Balkan, the landing in the bay of Bourgas, and the easy attainment by the Russians of the approaches to the Capital, have laid open all the real weakness of the Empire, and this discovery is likely in its future consequences to be more fatal to the Ottoman Power than even the conditions of the late Treaty, however oppressive and humiliating.

"After the disastrous battle in the neighbourhood of Choumla and the consequent surrender of Silistria, little or no resistance was opposed by the Turks to the passage of the Balkan by the Russian General, and upon his arrival in the plains of Adrianople the fate of the Turkish Empire was in his hands. That he did not avail himself of all his advantages and did not proceed to take possession of Constantinople may be ascribed to the presence in that Capital of the British and French Ambassadors, and to the judicious measures which they adopted, and which preserved the Ottoman Empire from entire destruction, and probably saved the life of Sultan Mahmoud. In fact, then, His Majesty, by availing himself of the first opportunity of sending back his Ambassador to Constantinople, adopted the only measure by which he could afford any support or countenance to the Sultan in the disastrous circumstances in which he had placed himself by his obstinate rejection of all pacific overtures. While he persisted in this fatal course no remonstrance on our part to the Court of St. Petersburg could have been of any avail—since the Russian Cabinet might, with truth, have answered that they were quite ready to enter upon a negociation for peace and had made repeated offers to that effect, all of which had been rejected by their enemy, that they had therefore no alternative but to go on with the war and could not be held responsible for the consequences which might ensue from the Sultan's determination to persevere in it."

AUSTRIA.—1830-1831

VIII

French and Algiers—Abdication of Charles X—Report of M. de Montbel on French Revolution—Coronation of the Imperial Prince as King of Hungary—Revolt in Belgium and Germany—Gentz on general affairs—Palmerston at the Foreign Office—Policy of Austria towards France—Russia and Poland—The Papal States—Cowley leaves Vienna—His note on Metternich and his Policy.

1830.—In an audience which the Ambassador had of the Emperor in April, H.I.M. expressed his satisfaction at the prospect of the speedy arrangement of the affairs of Greece, and he was happy to observe that the last advices from the Internuncio held out an expectation that there would be no serious opposition on the part of the Ottoman Government to the arrangements decided upon in London.

Cowley to Aberdeen. April 17.—. . . "H.I.M. then adverted to the expedition preparing in the French Ports against Algiers,[1] observing that the prevarications of the French Government rendered it impossible to form any judgment as to the nature and extent of the negociations with the Pasha of Egypt. He was, however, of opinion that the Pasha would not venture to take any part in the expedition against the Barbary States contrary to the wishes of the Sultan and without his express orders. . . . He thought that some explanation should be required of the French Government as to their ulterior views in the event of the expedition being successful."

The result of the expedition was the surrender of Algiers to the French on July 5th, 1830. On July 27th a revolution broke out in Paris as a result of the unpopularity of certain ordinances regarding the Press and the reconstruction of the Chamber of

[1] The capital of the Barbary States and a centre of piracy. The quarrel with France was brought to a head when Hussein Pasha insulted the French Consul and claimed a large sum of money as owing to him from the French Government, 1827.

Deputies, brought forward by the Polignac Ministry and supported by the King. On August 2nd Charles X abdicated and a few days later the Duke of Orleans accepted the Crown as Louis-Philippe I.

The letters from M. de Gentz to Lord Cowley which follow show the impression which the events in France made upon him and upon Prince Metternich.

M. de Gentz to Lord Cowley. Königswart (Translation). August 1.—"I arrived here yesterday at 7 o'clock in the evening and my presentiments as to the fertility of Königswart in the matter of important political news did not deceive me. This time they were realised even before I had set foot to ground. I had the advantage of meeting the Prince walking with his daughter a mile from his castle—and I at once learnt of the memorable event which took place at Paris on July 26th.

"The Prince is of opinion—and I agree with him—that since the Restoration there has been in France no more important, more dangerous or more decisive moment than that of the appearance of those 'ordonnances,' on the execution or non-execution of which now depends the fate of the country and of the throne, and consequently an effectual part of the tranquillity of Europe. As we are as yet only in possession of the 'Moniteur' of the 26th (sent to Frankfort by express from Rothschild and forwarded to the Prince by M. de Münch) it is impossible for us to judge what may have been their immediate effect. Only the reports and the newspapers of the succeeding days will enlighten us on this vast question. I suppose we shall have constant despatches direct from Paris, and I will not fail to communicate to you with the shortest possible delay the ideas which we gather from them and our reflections on the situation."

August 4.—"The news from France which reached us this evening no longer leaves any doubt as to the reality of a terrible explosion at Paris. We still have no details, but it is unfortunately certain that following on a sanguinary battle which took place on the 29th the Royal Government was completely overturned and Revolution established under the name of *Provisional Government*. In these circumstances the Prince has been obliged to decide on returning to Vienna without delay.

"I regret extremely that so calamitous an event should have

happened to interrupt my despatches, but I hope, in the great events which are preparing, you will continue to accord to me your confidence as in the past and to believe in my faithful services and unalterable devotion."

August 14.—. . . "The nomination of the Duke of Orleans to the throne of France was made known to us this morning. One of Rothschild's couriers brought us the 'Moniteur' of August 8th containing the edicts, speeches, debates, etc., of the two Chambers, together with the replies of the new King. This courier was not entrusted with any letter for your Cabinet either from Paris or from Frankfort.

"I regard this decision as the most fortunate solution of a crisis which it was beyond human wisdom to turn to the profit of the Legitimists, after the regrettable suicide which Charles X and his Ministers had committed. I have strong reasons for believing that this country will not hesitate for a moment to recognise Louis-Philippe as King of the French (for there was no question, as had been feared, of the title of Emperor) and from a conversation at which I was present this morning, and an account of which I will give you to-morrow, justifies me in believing that Russia and Prussia will not be long in following our example. We shall thus find ourselves in line with the English Government and the union of the four Great Powers will at least be able to keep the peace of Europe."

Cowley to Aberdeen. September 10.—"M. de Montbel, one of the members of the Polignac Administration is arrived at Vienna. He accompanied King Charles the 10th to Rambouillet, and after H.M.'s departure for Cherbourg, he made his way to the Capital on foot. After remaining a few days at Paris concealed in the house of a friend, he obtained a passport under a feigned name, and travelled in the diligence to the frontiers of Switzerland without having excited any suspicion, or been in any way molested. On the frontiers he met with an Irish gentleman of the name of Russell to whom he is distantly related, and who accompanied him to Berne.

"M. de Gabriac, the French Ambassador in Switzerland, introduced him to the Austrian Minister, the Baron de Binder, and upon his informing that Minister that he wished to take refuge in Austria,

he did not hesitate to give him a passport, and also a letter of introduction to Prince Metternich.

"In a long conversation with Prince Metternich, which took place the day after his arrival at Vienna, he gave H.H. some interesting details of the events which led to the late catastrophe in France.

"He said that one of Charles the 10th's first measures after his accession to the throne, that of removing the restrictions which had been imposed upon the Press, although it had gained for him a temporary popularity, was one of the principal causes of the difficulties and embarrassments to which he had been exposed up to the period of the appointment of M. de Polignac. That the manner in which M. de Polignac's Ministry was formed was most injudicious. It was composed of persons summoned from all parts of the country, he himself being at that time at a hundred and fifty leagues distant from Paris. That it was impossible that persons so selected could be acquainted with the King's views, these were to be learnt after their arrival at Paris, and consequently there was from the very first a great difference of opinion among the members of the Ministry as to the system which ought to be pursued. The appointment of M. de la Bouldonnaye and afterwards of M. de Peyronnet, was likewise injudicious, the former being quite unfit for the management of any public department, and the latter (although possessing great firmness and talents) being so unpopular as to render his appointment very injurious to the King's affairs.

"Another circumstance which contributed to hasten the downfall of the King was the extreme liberalism of the individuals about his person, such as the Duc de Fitzjames, the Duc de Mailly and others. These gentlemen, whom the King considered his private friends, formed a sort of Camarilla where any measure proposed by the Government was discussed and afterwards returned with so many modifications as often rendered it useless.

"Many of the gentlemen forming the King's private society lived in strict intimacy with the Duke of Orleans, and were in constant confidential communication with him upon public affairs.

"Such, M. de Montbel says, was the state of the Government and of the Court at the period of the new elections which turned out so ill. The Government, however, had no intention of adopting any of those measures which afterwards proved so disastrous in their consequences until they had ascertained to a positive certainty

that a conspiracy for depriving Charles the 10th of his throne existed at Paris, of which the Duke of Orleans was at the head, and which was to break out on the day fixed for the meeting of the Chambers. Prompt and vigorous measures became therefore necessary, and from this necessity sprung the Ordonnances of July 26th. Here again the King was deceived by M. de Polignac, who, being charged with the Portefeuille of the War Department, and relying upon the Etat Militaire presented to him, assured the King that he had thirty thousand men under arms at Paris, when, in fact, they never could muster at any time more than nine thousand.

"M. de Montbel has no doubt that the conspiracy, at the head of which was the Duke of Orleans, had been regularly organised for a long time previous to the publication of the Ordonnances, which furnished the pretext for the insurrection. Detailed instructions were found upon many of the Insurgents captured by the King's troops, which must have been prepared long before, and the whole plan of attack and defence was so systematic as to prove that it had been long digested.

"Contrary to the reports received from other quarters, M. de Montbel speaks in high terms of the firmness of the Dauphin. When the King determined upon withdrawing the 'Ordonnances,' and appointed the Duc de Mortemart President of the Council, the Dauphin strongly objected to such concessions as disgraceful and ruinous, and in their situation entirely useless, and represented to the King that as his first subject he was bound to obey him, but that as Heir Presumptive to the Throne, he could not but feel that in their situation they had nothing left but to conquer or perish, and that for his part he was quite prepared for either alternative.

"In the present state of France M. de Montbel is of opinion that the revolution is complete—that the Duke of Orleans cannot long maintain himself in his present situation and that everything tends to the establishment of a Republic at no distant period."

September 30.—"The Coronation of the Imperial Prince as King of Hungary took place on the 28th.

"At 4 o'clock in the morning it was announced by firing of cannon, and at 7 o'clock all those who were to form a part of the Cortège assembled at the Palace of the Primate whence they went in procession to the Cathedral Church. The streets were lined partly with the Garde Bourgeoise and partly by Hungarian and

Austrian troops. The procession was opened by the Household servants of the Nobility. The Magnates in splendid national costumes and the Hungarian Body Guard preceded their Imperial Majesties who were in an open carriage drawn by eight horses.

"In the Church the Arch-Duke Palatine and the Primate of Hungary assisted in investing H.R.H. with the crown, robe and shoes of St. Stephen, the Emperor and Empress being seated upon a throne with the Imperial crowns upon their heads. The Arch-Dukes were stationed at the right hand of their Imperial Majesties, and the other members of the Imperial family were stationed in a gallery above.

"From the Cathedral the new Sovereign walked in the same dress, bearing the sceptre and globe, to the Church of the Franciscans, where he created several knights of the Spur (equites auratos), a distinction which is only conferred at a Coronation. . . .

"The Cortège then proceeded on horseback, the Bishops likewise riding in their full robes and mitres, to an open place in the centre of the City which was lined with troops, and where, upon a scaffolding erected for the purpose, the King took the oath to maintain the Constitution. The oath was read to him by the Primate, and the Palatine then gave the first shout of *vivat rex* which was re-echoed by the multitude.

"They next moved to a small eminence on the border of the Danube, where the King on horseback performed the usual ceremony of waving his sword towards the four quarters of the globe in token of his determination to defend his kingdom against all invaders.

"The Emperor and Empress, with the new Sovereign, afterwards dined in public, the Primate, the Palatine and the Pope's Nuncio (as is customary) sitting at the same table.

"The whole of the proceedings were conducted with great order. Measures were taken by Prince Metternich for the accommodation at every station, where any ceremony was to be performed, of the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, who had the satisfaction of witnessing the love and veneration of the people for their Imperial Majesties and for their new Sovereign, which, whenever an occasion offered, were manifested by repeated acclamations."

Revolution had broken out in Belgium on August 25th, 1830. Her independence was acknowledged by the Allied Powers on

December 26th. In July, 1831, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg became King of Belgium.

M. de Gentz to Lord Cowley. (*Translation*). *Pressburg. October* 7.—" The news received yesterday is most annoying. The so-called decisive victory of Prince Frederick at Brussels in which, for my part, I did not believe for a single instant, has turned out to be a serious defeat and the town of Brussels has been almost entirely demolished without the insurrection having abated in the slightest.

" The events taking place in Germany touch us more nearly. In the greater part of the Electorate of Hesse, notably in the countries of Fulda and Hanau, as well as in the Grand Duchy of the same name, incendiaries go from village to village burning the Custom Houses, destroying all the Archives of the Governors and declaring the abolition of taxes. In several places the peasants are joining them and attacking and threatening the proprietors. This is a more serious rebellion than that which has broken out in some of the *towns* because it will be much more difficult to repress.

" In these alarming circumstances the President of the Germanic Diet, without waiting for the instructions which the Governors of the Confederation are to issue to all the Ministers on the proposals previous to September 18th, has taken measures, with the unanimous consent of his colleagues, tending to limit, without loss of time, the extent of a misfortune the consequences of which would soon become incalculable. The Diet has invited not only the two Courts of Cassel and Darmstadt directly affected by these disorders, but also those of Prussia, Bavaria and Nassau, immediately to march as many troops as they can collect to the districts where public order has been so violently upset. The Diet has moreover charged its Military Commission to formulate without delay a combined plan of operations, in order to use the different contingents simultaneously as an instrument for re-establishing peace and order.

" The Diet in this has not exceeded its legal powers; for it is essentially a part of its jurisdiction to ensure the interior safety of Germany by all legitimate means; and the measures which it takes for this purpose with the authority of the Sovereigns of the Federation are not subject to any control by a foreign Government. Besides, what it has done in the present case is so much in the general

interest of Europe that there is no fear of any protest being made against its actions except by revolutionary newspapers.

"In the meantime the first proposals of the President, with which you are already acquainted, have been the subject of some criticism and of several objections which are probably warranted. On the one hand the article which proposed to remind Governors of their duties was considered ill-timed; on the other, the article declaring any concession wrung from a Sovereign by force or by threats to be null and void, has been condemned as tending to be interpreted in a hostile and dangerous manner.

"The King of Würtemburg, who has otherwise shown on this occasion the most loyal and honourable tendencies, has joined in these objections. There is no doubt that they were made to the Confederation. The proposals of September 18th were not of a definite character; they admit of amendment in any way which may be judged necessary.

"But Austria and her Ministers at the Diet will always have the merit of having drawn the attention of Germany to measures which, in the actual state of things, may have a great influence on the maintenance of tranquillity in a central country of Europe."

October 23.—"It seems to me unquestionable that the English Government, in inviting the French Government to come to an understanding with them on the question of the Netherlands, has taken a step dictated equally by wisdom and by necessity. Since England could not make an armed intervention in this affair—and she could not do so without setting Europe on fire—it was the quickest and most effectual means of bringing about a peaceful settlement. Therefore the Prince was quite unable to find fault with this decision; he had himself realised that it was impossible to exclude France from the concert of Powers about to be established: he complained only of the method—and that quite unreasonably—for before the Duke of Wellington's return to London Lord Aberdeen had communicated to Neumann and to the other foreign representatives the step which they were about to take at Paris."

November 3.—"In the midst of the sad events which are taking place and among those which still threaten Europe, none causes me more uneasiness than the Expedition of exiled Spaniards, and their armed entrance into their country. It is not only for Spain

that this enterprise makes me tremble, but for the influence it may have on the destiny of Italy. Far from reassuring me on the fears which beset me in this respect, the Prince only adds to them by preaching to me from morning to night that he considers (1) Mina's Expedition as almost certain of success; (2) that the inevitable result will be revolutionary movements in more than one part of Italy; (3) that as a result of the engagements we have made with the Italian Courts, the first explosion, perhaps in Piedmont, perhaps in the Papal States, will inevitably be the signal for an armed intervention on the part of Austria. I do not put implicit faith in these alarming predictions. I find it difficult to believe that the Spanish Government will fall without resistance to a few handfuls of fanatics who are rejected by the great majority of the people. Moreover, I do not admit that a revolution in Spain, even were it successful, would immediately bring about one in Italy where, up to the present moment, according to our latest reports, no trace of active plotting has shown itself. Lastly, I have every reason to doubt that your Government, convinced as it must be, and as the Prince really is, of our lack of available forces, would go headlong into action, which might bring such serious consequences in its train.

"But you will understand what I have to endure in constantly listening to these tirades which torment without convincing me, and which Tatistcheff's continual presence makes doubly unbearable. Although somewhat more moderate in reality than the Prince, he nevertheless applauds every word he utters; and when I raise my feeble voice—which happens frequently, for I am present daily at the reading of telegrams and correspondence which we three regularly attend to—the contest is too unequal for poor me. With two powerful Ministers against me I am soon reduced to silence.

"The only circumstance which has somewhat moderated the extraordinary, warlike zeal of these two gentlemen during the past few days, is the news of the spread of *Cholera Morbus* in Russia. They deplore this malady as the greatest of scourges, not precisely for humane reasons, but because of the interruption to their plans against revolution. When they learnt that the recruiting ordered for the month of November was suspended; that it would not be possible to mass troops on any one point; that between the thirteenth and fifteenth two hundred persons were attacked by the disease in Moscow, and that fifty of them died within twenty-four

hours; finally, that everyone is engrossed by this calamity and scarcely gives a thought to *political cholera*, they groaned at the contretempts, as if they had really believed that an army of 200,000 Russians could be marched to our frontiers in two months at the latest! I am well aware that these ideas are fanciful and that the Emperor Nicholas, even *without* the plague, would think twice before embarking on so extravagant an adventure, but none the less, it is distressing constantly to hear statements of this kind, the echo of which reaches the public. The news of a pretended Treaty of Alliance, *offensive and defensive*, between Russia and Austria, with other similar rumours, has had a very bad effect on the Vienna Bourse.

"England and Prussia to-day are in deep disgrace here. Count Bernstorff is the butt of all the sarcasm and abuse which season the ministerial conversation. The English Government is treated rather more tenderly; they content themselves with pitying remarks on her policy.

"The Prince complains bitterly—and this is the one point on which he has some reason to complain—that we get no communications from London. One must admit that his own Embassy is chiefly to blame for this omission. He believes, too, that English Ministers have fallen hopelessly into Talleyrand's snares, and that they attend to nothing but their correspondence with the Court of the Palais Royal.

"The unlimited confidence with which I am in the habit of speaking to you, my Lord, has induced me to make these observations, which I have no time to revise, because Rothschild is determined to return to Vienna before night, and it is only with difficulty that I obtained a delay of half an hour. You will therefore receive this scrawl indulgently. I have every reason to believe that at the end of, or even before the end of the week, we shall be back in Vienna *for good*, and I shall be delighted to give you a more detailed account of our position, which seems to me as *false* as it is *dangerous*. . . ."

November 23.—"All that has happened since yesterday has set my mind at ease to a remarkable degree. The Armistice has been agreed to at Brussels. . . . The speeches made in the Chamber of Deputies in the sitting of the 13th, express nothing but moderate sentiments and pacific views.

"Finally, what is much more important than anything else, the opinion seems to have become general that the Duke of Wellington[1] will weather the storm; the funds have risen considerably in London and Paris; and Prince Metternich himself agrees that the general state of affairs presents a much less alarming appearance than it did a few weeks ago.

"God grant that this happy outlook is confirmed at every point. I shall never in my life have felt a livelier satisfaction than that of having been right this time *against the whole world.*"

Cowley to Palmerston. December 19.—The following is a review by Lord Cowley of the policy of Austria with regard to France, from the breaking out of the Revolution in July.

"The first intelligence of the commotions at Paris reached Prince Metternich at his residence in Bohemia. He immediately determined upon returning to Vienna, taking Carlsbad in his way, where he had a conference with Count Nesselrode.

"At this interview the two Ministers agreed upon the line of conduct which they should advise their respective Sovereigns to adopt in consequence of the intelligence received from Paris. At the instance of Count Nesselrode, a short paper was drawn up which has since been styled by Prince Metternich "Le chiffon de Carlsbad," and of which the following is the substance.

"'To take as a general basis of the line of conduct to be pursued by Austria and Russia that they should abstain from all interference in the internal affairs of France, but that they should not, on the other hand, suffer France to do anything to the prejudice of the general interests of Europe, as established and guaranteed by treaty, or to disturb the tranquillity of any of the States of which Europe is composed.' . . .

"Prince Metternich had, however, proposed to Count Nesselrode that all measures relating to France should be suspended until the three Sovereigns, *viz.*, the two Emperors and the King of Prussia had come to a more distinct understanding as to the course it would be desirable for them to pursue; for H.H. always held it to be of the highest importance that the three great Continental

[1] On November 16, the Duke of Wellington's administration came to an end on the Reform question. It was succeeded by Lord Grey's administration, with Lord Palmerston at the Foreign Office.

Powers should act as one, and that no step should be taken by the one without the full sanction and authority of the others.

"I should observe here that in all the communications which have passed between the three Courts upon this subject, Great Britain is represented as not likely, excepting in cases of aggression on the part of France, to make common concern with her Continental Allies, but they reckoned upon her moral support in any measure which might be essential to their own security and to that of Europe generally.

"The foregoing suggestion of suspending all proceedings in regard to France was overruled by Count Nesselrode, who was certain that the Emperor would readily adopt the resolutions upon which they had agreed, and who thought that no time ought to be lost in communicating the intentions of the Allies to the French Government through their agents at Paris.

"But soon after Prince Metternich's return from Bohemia, the Russian Ukases prohibiting any Frenchman from passing the Frontier, and any French ship from entering a Russian port with the Tricolour Flag, were received at Vienna, together with copies of the instructions to the Russian Ambassador at Paris, directing that all H.I.M.'s subjects, whether Russian or Polish, resident in that capital should leave it without delay.

"On August 26, General Belliard[1] arrived at Vienna, and was the bearer of a letter to the Emperor announcing the elevation of the Duke of Orleans to the Throne. His audience of H.I.M. was, however, delayed in consequence of the communications from St. Petersburg, Prince Metternich being desirous of waiting for some explanation of the measures adopted by the Emperor Nicholas.

"Before the explanation arrived, however, it was announced from Berlin that Count Loben had had his audience of H.I.M., and had returned to Paris; it was therefore impossible any longer to delay the reception of General Belliard, and a day or two after his reception by the Emperor he returned to Paris with a letter from H.I.M. to King Louis-Philippe, acknowledging him as King of the French, but at the same time expressing his reliance upon the assurances given by the King that France would not seek to extend her territory at the expense of her neighbours, and would

[1] Had enjoyed a distinguished military career under Napoleon.

Louis Philippe, King of the French.

strictly adhere to the Treaties fixing the territorial boundaries of the different States of Europe.

"Subsequent to General Belliard's departure from Vienna, arrived despatches from St. Petersburg stating the objection of the Emperor Nicholas to acknowledging the new order of things in France, but intimating at the same time his determination not to separate himself from his Allies. Upon receiving these communications, the Austrian Chancellor again lamented that Count Nesselrode had not consented to suspend all measures relating to France until the Great Continental Powers had determined upon some definite plan of action, since he considered their union as essential, not only to their own security, but to that of Europe generally; not that he had altered his opinion as to the line of conduct they ought to observe with regard to the French Government, for they could not do otherwise than acknowledge the new Sovereign if they wished that even the form of Monarchy should be preserved. . . .

"The disturbances in Germany and in Belgium gave rise to some warm discussions between the French Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Russian and Prussian Ambassadors at Paris, respecting the right of intervention, Count Molé declaring that France would scrupulously abstain from all interference between the King of the Netherlands and his subjects, provided other Powers followed the same course, but that she could not see with indifference the interference of any other Power in the internal concerns of her neighbours. M. Pozzo di Borgo said that many of the neighbouring States, excited by the example of France, were already in a state of insurrection, while others were ripe for revolt, and that a perseverance in this principle by France would infallibly lead to a war, to which M. Molé rejoined: 'We shall be prepared to meet it when it comes.'

"From the very first intelligence of the events which had taken place at Paris, when great apprehensions were entertained here that Italy might follow the example of France, Prince Metternich declared that were any insurrection of a revolutionary character to break out in the King of Sardinia's dominions or in the Papal States, the Austrian Army would instantly march to their assistance. . . .

"In a despatch addressed to the Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburg on the subject of the right of intervention, Prince Metternich endeavours to show that the security of Europe mainly depended

upon that right being insisted upon and established by the Allies. He does not pretend that any one Power has a right to interfere in the internal administration of another. The right of intervention ought only to be exercised in those extreme cases where, by violent revolutions in a State, the Government is rendered incapable of maintaining its treaties and engagements with other Powers, and that the interests, the security and even the existence of the latter are thereby endangered. In such a state of things the right of interference undoubtedly belongs to any Government in danger of being overwhelmed by revolution, as it would be the right and even the duty of an individual to extinguish a fire in the house of his neighbour in order to preserve his own from the flames.

"The right of intervention, according to H.H.'s argument, may equally be exercised in a case where the legal authority of a State about to be overwhelmed by a violent revolution demands, by virtue of a treaty, the assistance of another Power to save it from destruction. 'But,' continues H.H., 'what is the pretension of France with regard to Belgium? She says to the other Powers, do not march to the assistance of your Ally, for if you accede to his demand, I shall be compelled to take up the cause of his revolted subjects. So that in order to deprive the Powers of an incontestable right confirmed by the authority of ages, the Cabinet of the Palais Royal brings forward another which has no foundation but in revolution, that is to say, in the destruction of order.'

"The answer to these observations was received from St. Petersburg a few days ago.

"The Russian Cabinet concurs in everything advanced by the Austrian Chancellor, both as to the principle itself and the right of acting upon it. But recollecting the objections urged to the principles by the British Plenipotentiaries at Troppau, at Laybach and at Vienna, Count Nesselrode is apprehensive that the bringing it forward at the present moment might occasion unpleasant discussions with H.M.'s Government, and as the French Cabinet has been prevailed upon to join with the Allies in their efforts to effect a satisfactory arrangement of the affairs of Belgium, he thinks it would be advisable to allow the subject to rest for the present. . . .

January 7, 1831.—"The attention of this Government continues to be anxiously directed to the affairs of Poland. All the letters from Warsaw, from Cracow and the Austrian province of Gallicia

speak of the disunion among the Poles,[1] and this will probably have increased in consequence of the Emperor of Russia's proclamation inviting his Polish subjects to return to their allegiance. . . . In the meanwhile Russia is marching an immense force upon Poland which is expected to come into contact with the Insurgent Army towards the end of the month.

" There will be much bloodshed, but it can hardly be expected that with their inadequate means the Poles will be able to oppose any effectual resistance to the masses which are marching to attack them.

" The Russians at Vienna make no scruple of attributing the disturbances in Poland to the unpopularity of the Grand Duke Constantine and the height which they attained to his pusillanimity, since, had he (they say) acted with common spirit, the insurrection must have been quelled in a few hours.

" Prince Metternich was lately much excited by the arrival of Prince Schönburg, the Austrian Minister at Stutgardt, who appears to have been sent by the King of Würtenberg with very exaggerated representations of the state of Würtemburg, of Baden, of Hesse Darmstadt and of Hesse Capel; the people in those countries are, it is stated by the Prince, ripe for revolt, and the only remedy which the King of Würtemberg has been able to discover for such a state of things is an immediate war with France.

" It must be admitted that the language of Prince Metternich to his intimate friends upon passing events is not always as prudent as it might be wished—and when it goes forth to the world before H.H. has had time to correct his first impressions, it gives rise to a belief that he is an advocate for war. But his measures, which are seldom taken without due deliberation, are certainly wise and moderate, and the preservation of peace is so necessary to Austria that I feel persuaded that H.H. would not embark in a war without the best possible cause. I am therefore induced to believe that were revolutionary commotions to break out in Piedmont, it would only be in the last extremity that the Austrian forces would march to the assistance of the King of Sardinia.

February 15.—" The accounts from the Papal States are very alarming. Not only Bologna and Ferrara, but Reggio, Imola and Pessaro are in a state of revolution, and it would appear that at the

[1] *See* note, page 193.

latter place there has been some bloodshed. It is reported that the insurrection is spreading towards Rome. Provisional Governments have been established at Bologna and Ferrara. . . . I am apprehensive that the Austrian force in Italy is by no means adequate to the exigencies of the moment. Upon the breaking out of the Polish disturbances the reinforcements destined for Italy were sent to Gallicia, so that the whole force at present under the command of General Frimont amounts to between fifty and sixty thousand men, from thirty to forty thousand of which are in Lombardy and might be brought together in a few days, but the remainder are scattered all over the country, and it would require a much longer time to unite them. . . .

"I called upon Prince Metternich this morning. . . . He said that the determination of H.I.M." [upon the subject of intervention] "remained unaltered; that the vital interests of the Austrian Monarchy, particularly in Italy, depended upon the exercise of that right—that it could not be expected that the Continental Powers should sit quietly by while French Emissaries were everywhere endeavouring to wrest from them their fairest possessions by exciting their subjects to revolution; that the notion that prevailed that Great Britain and France were opposed to intervention had, by encouraging the dissatisfied, contributed much to the revolutionary commotions which were now spreading far and wide in Italy—that war was preferable to such a state of things, and that Austria was prepared to go to war rather than forego a right which was essential to the preservation of every state upon the Continent. He hoped, however, better things from the present Government of France, and that they would rather assist in devising means for checking this revolutionary spirit than afford it any countenance. . . .

"I believe that Prince Metternich expects to obtain the acquiescence of the French Government in any measures which Austria may deem necessary for tranquillising Italy by representing (what appears to be true) that the majority of the revolutionists in Italy are Bonapartists, and that their general cry is for the Duke of Reichstadt to be placed at their head."

March 19.—"Your Lordship will already have been apprised of the Pope having solicited military succours from H.I.M. for the purpose of putting an end to the revolutionary disturbances which have broken out within his territories, and of H.I.M. having, in

Prince Metternich.

From the picture by Sir Thomas Lawrence at Windsor Castle. By gracious permission of His Majesty the King.

compliance with the solicitations of H.H., determined to send a military force to his assistance. It is expected that the Austrian force to be sent upon this service . . . will reach Bologna about the 20th instant, from which city the provisional Government has already retired. . . .

" Instructions have, in the meanwhile, been sent to the Austrian Ambassador at Rome to confer with M. de St. Aulaire, and to unite with him in endeavouring to prevail upon the Pope to make all reasonable concessions with a view of securing the permanent tranquillity of his dominions.

" The son of Louis Bonaparte has been playing a very prominent part in the revolution of Bologna, and has written a letter to the Pope urging him to give a constitution to his States and to separate the ecclesiastical from the temporal power by placing the latter under a Provisional Government."

Lord Cowley left Vienna at the end of July, 1831. The following passages are taken from his last confidential dispatch to Lord Palmerston :

July 20.—" The last despatches from Count Apponyi announce the determination of the French Government to make a strong representation to Russia in behalf of the Poles,[1] in which (it is stated) they have some expectation of being joined by Great Britain. The despatches from St. Petersburg, on the other hand, declare it to be the fixed resolution of the Emperor of Russia to decline all foreign intervention. I am inclined to believe that this determination is approved and perhaps encouraged, by the Government of Austria.

" The reports, however, from Paris, have, as might be expected, given rise to various speculations among those who are favorable to the cause of Poland, such as that resources in money and stores will immediately be afforded to the Poles by Great Britain and France, and that a combined British and French squadron will be sent to the North Sea, thus placing the Emperor of Russia in a predicament with respect to Poland similar to that in which the Sultan was placed with respect to Greece at the period of the Battle of Navarino.

[1] A revolution had begun in the spring, which was attributed principally to the oppressive administration of the Grand Duke Constantine. The Poles demanded the re-establishment of their constitution.

"I have seen a Memoir drawn up by a Pole (intended, as I believe, to be laid before H.M.'s Government), representing the deliverance of Poland as easily attainable by the appearance of a fleet in the Baltic, but deprecating all idea of a Continental war. Austria, it is stated in this paper, might be induced to adopt the same course which she pursued in the affair of Greece, and that the line of conduct, whatever it might be which she might determine upon, would also be followed by Prussia.

"These are not the avowed sentiments of Prince Metternich, but some expressions have occasionally dropped from him which might lead one to believe that he himself thinks that Austria may be compelled to adopt this course, and among his confidential friends he has allowed himself to say that were the Emperor of Russia to be placed in the situation I have mentioned, he would not be subjected to harder conditions than those which he had contributed to impose on the Sultan.

"The result of the battle which must soon take place in Poland is looked for by H.H. with great anxiety. The defeat of the Russians would, in his opinion, secure the independence of Poland, while he even doubts (such is the interest which the cause of Poland has excited throughout Europe) whether, if the issue of the battle were to be favourable to the Russians, and they were consequently to take possession of Warsaw, the Emperor Nicholas would attempt to re-establish his authority upon anything like the footing on which it stood previous to the breaking out of the insurrection. . . ."

The following Note on Metternich was found among Lord Cowley's papers. It is not dated.

Prince Metternich

I have often wondered at the common opinions which prevail in England with respect to this statesman. He is considered to be inveterately hostile to all measures having for their object the improvement of the condition of the lower classes, and his policy is represented as being directed principally to this object. But what are the real objects of his policy? To maintain the peace of Europe and the limits of the several States of the Continent as they were established at the Peace of 1815, and to prevent the peace of

Europe, and particularly the dominion of Austria, from being disturbed by the dissemination of revolutionary principles, in both of which objects he has been eminently successful. For by his counsels and vigorous measures, aided by other German States, he not only put a stop to the efforts of the Propagandists in Germany, but by his promptitude and energy and the timely employment of the Austrian forces in the Pope's dominions, put an end to the disturbance which had broken out there, and thereby prevented a revolutionary war in Italy which, had it broken out, would probably have spread itself over the whole of the Continent. If, therefore, Italy and Germany are at present in the enjoyment of peace, it is principally to be attributed to the wisdom, vigilance and energy of the Austrian Cabinet. Again, with respect to Greece, the conduct of the Austrian Minister is entitled to the highest praise. As this is a curious subject, I shall notice it in some detail. Upon the breaking out of the disturbances, the five Great Powers assembled at Vienna took into their consideration the measures to be adopted with respect to Greece. Prince Metternich was of opinion that everything should be done with a view to the improvement of the civil condition of Greece under the guarantee of the five Powers, but that the Grand Signior should continue as Suzerain over Greece, receiving only a small tribute as an acknowledgment of his suzerainty. Prince Metternich continued to recommend this principle until the intelligence was received at Vienna of the conclusion of the Convention for the settlement of the affair signed by the Duke of Wellington at St. Petersburg on the part of England, with Count Nesselrode on the part of Russia. This Convention was entered into without the participation or concurrence of the other three Powers. France, however, not choosing to be left out, became a party to it at her own desire, and at her suggestion a Treaty with the same objects as the Convention was afterwards concluded, of which Treaty I believe the Duke of Wellington disapproved. Austria and Prussia were entirely left out of the question—they were not consulted as to the stipulations of the Treaty or as to the expediency of any Treaty upon the subject. It was merely left to them, after the Treaty had been signed by the other three Powers, to become parties to it or not, as they should think fit. Austria (for I shall confine myself to the proceedings of that Government) declined being a party to the Treaty, but gave assurances that she would use her best endeavours at Constantinople to prevail upon the Sultan to acquiesce in the

views of the three Powers with respect to Greece, which promise she strictly fulfilled.

Let us now see what has been the result of this Treaty. First, the Battle of Navarino, in which the Turkish Fleet was totally destroyed and her coasts consequently left defenceless. Secondly, the war between Russia and Turkey, with the disastrous issue of which everyone is acquainted—Turkey being deprived of all means of defending her coasts, fell an easy prey to Russia. The result, therefore, has been the aggrandisement of Russia at the expense of the Porte, which last can no longer be considered as of any weight in the balance of power in Europe. And what is Europe to look to as an equivalent for this? The independence of Greece, a miserable State absolutely dependent for its very existence upon the bounty of the three Powers Parties to the Treaty, a State which sooner or later will probably become a part of the over-grown power of Russia.

Had Prince Metternich's policy been followed, there would have been no battle of Navarino, no war between Russia and the Porte; the latter would have maintained her place among the powers of Europe, and Greece would in all probability have been as happy and as little dependent upon Turkey as she is at this moment upon the three Powers, two of which will find that they have imposed a burden upon themselves which they can never shake off

PARIS.—1835-1841

I

Interview with Louis-Philippe—King's leanings towards Don Carlos —Opinions in Paris on intervention in Spanish Affairs—Cowley leaves Paris and continues his Diary—Russia's secret Policy—Cowley returns to Paris—Bulwer on the state of Politics and Parties in Paris—Louis-Philippe's intentions with regard to Spanish insurrection—Cowley interviews Lord Aberdeen.

1835.—Lord Cowley's next appointment was to the Paris Embassy in March, 1835, during Sir Robert Peel's Ministry. On the return of the Whigs[1] to power, a few weeks later, he resigned. The only record we have of his first mission to Paris is his own account of some confidential conversations with Louis-Philippe and a few letters to the Duke of Wellington, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

To cover the intervening years between 1835 and Lord Cowley's second appointment to the Paris Embassy in 1841, there is nothing but a short diary of political events during the first part of 1836.

Since the question of the Spanish marriages had occupied the attention of the Corps Diplomatique from the time the young Queen Isabella and her sister, the Infanta Maria Luisa, were in their cradles, and now became the centre of intrigue and interest in the Courts of Europe, it might be well to remind ourselves of the course of events in Spain since the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833. Ferdinand, by the Pragmatic Sanction abolishing the Salic Law in Spain, left a distracted country and an insecure throne to his daughter Isabella—then a child of three—under the Regency of her mother, Maria Cristina, of Naples. The Government was quickly involved in a desperate and protracted struggle with those who supported the rival claims of Don Carlos, Ferdinand's brother, and was further harassed by the dissensions in its own ranks between the Moderate and Progressive parties. Finally, in 1840, the Regent Cristina was forced to abdicate. She retired to Paris with Mũnoz,[2] a man

[1] Lord Melbourne's second Administration. Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary.

[2] Subsequently created Duke of Rianzares.

of obscure family whom she had secretly married, and General Espartero, the leader of the Radical party, was recognised as Regent by the Cortes.

The marriage of the young Queen Isabella and her sister became of growing importance. Candidates for the hands of the two Princesses included the Duc d'Aumale and the Duc de Montpensier, the sons of Louis-Philippe ; Count Trapani, brother of Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies and of Queen Cristina ; the Count of Montemolin, the son of Don Carlos ; Francisco, Duke of Cadiz and his brother Henry, Duke of Seville, who were sons of Carlota, Cristina's sister ; and Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, brother of Ferdinand, King-Consort of Portugal.

Lord Cowley, in his Diary of 1835, after recalling his encounter with Louis-Philippe in Spain in 1810, as recorded in an earlier chapter, writes :

" Next time I saw H.R.H. was at Paris, in 1815. He treated me with great civility, but I had no private conference with him, nor was any allusion made to what had passed at Cadiz.

" From this time up to the period of my appointment to the Embassy at Paris in 1835, I was never in the way of seeing H.R.H., and it is not a little singular that having witnessed his expulsion from Cadiz as an *Intrigant*, I should now have to present my credentials to him as King of France. My own situation after the resignation of Sir Robert Peel (which happened a short time after the delivery of my credentials) was one of great difficulty and embarrassment, and I must say that during the whole period of my residence in Paris the King treated me not only with great kindness and attention, but also with every mark of confidence. I had several confidential conversations with him, both with reference to his own situation and to the affairs of Europe, and of Spain in particular. He told me that if Charles X had followed his advice, and had left his grandson in France, he would at this moment have been upon the throne. That he had never wished to occupy it, but had been compelled by circumstances to do so—and that, indeed, Charles and his whole family having abandoned the Monarchy, he was the next heir to it, and that it would have been pusillanimous desertion of the duty which he owed to himself and to his family if he had not asserted his rights ; that he and the Queen and his family were much happier when he was simply Duke of Orleans, and that he was quite aware when he ascended the throne that his life must be one of trouble, anxiety and danger. That it was a

Marshal Baldomero Espartero, Duke de la Victoria.

consolation to him to think that he had succeeded in obtaining the confidence of the principal Powers of Europe, and that he hoped so to control his Government as to avoid giving umbrage to any of them, while at the same time he should never relax in his efforts to uphold the power and dignity of France.

"We had several conversations relative to the affairs of Spain. He acknowledged to me that he considered Don Carlos's title to the throne to be better than that of the young Queen; that he had been strenuous in his opposition to the abrogation of the Salick law, foreseeing all the consequences that would ensue from so important a measure, though indeed, neither he nor anyone else could have contemplated the murderous warfare which was then raging in the Northern provinces. He declared that if he could prevent it, not a French soldier should cross the Frontier. It would require, he said, fifty thousand men to put an end to the war in the Northern provinces—that supposing a French Army to succeed in this (which was extremely problematical), they must instantly retire, as none of the Continental Powers would hear of their continuing to occupy those provinces, and in a very short time after their leaving the Country the whole business would be to do over again. Besides, who was to pay the expense of such an expedition? He doubted much whether the Chambers would be induced to grant one farthing for such a purpose. The expedition under the Duc d'Angoulême had cost France three hundred millions of livres, and what had been the result? That Ferdinand had re-established his odious government and had died leaving behind him a legacy which had entailed a civil war upon his kingdom of which no one could foresee the end or the consequences.

"It was evident that the King of France had a leaning towards Don Carlos, and indeed, it would be for the advantage of his system of government and for the tranquillity of France, that Don Carlos should succeed in establishing himself upon the throne of Spain.

"Upon the whole, my opinion of Louis-Philippe is much changed. At Cadiz I considered him as a mere *Intrigant*. But since his elevation to the Throne of France he has displayed qualities which eminently fit him for the situation which he occupies. He has shown that he possesses courage, firmness and talent, and his death under present circumstances would be of the most serious consequence to the other States of Europe."

Cowley to the Duke of Wellington, Paris. April 3.

"My Dear Arthur,

"I have received your three private letters of the 27th and the 30th.

"The greatest anxiety is felt here for the result of Lord John Russell's motion.[1] All the Whigs affirm that Ministers must resign. I am certainly at present rather in a *fausse position* here. I am treated with great civility, and by the King with cordiality. I believe he would be very sorry if any change were to take place in England.

"I shall mark my confidential despatches *private and confidential*, in order that if you quit office you may take them with you if you think proper. The others have set you the example of doing so.

"The King always speaks of you with the greatest kindness, and also the Queen.

"Believe me most affectionately yours,

"Cowley."

April 10.

"My Dear Duke,

"A telegraphic communication informed us yestedray morning of the resignation of Ministers. I went in the evening to the Tuileries. So soon as I entered the room the King took me aside and expressed his great regret at the intelligence of the morning. He anticipated serious evils, not only to England, but to the rest of Europe, from the downfall of the Conservative Government. For himself, he had already assured me of his perfect satisfaction at the conduct towards himself of that Government, but he could not resist again declaring to me that there was nothing in that conduct which he would wish to see altered, and that his Diplomatic Agents in London spoke the same language as himself.

"I said that I did not consider it as one of the least advantages resulting from the short period that the late Ministers were in office that His Majesty should be convinced that a Conservative Ministry was not necessarily ill-disposed towards him, and that he should know from experience that there was the same cordial feeling towards him and his Government on the part of Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues, and as strong a disposition to maintain our relations with France as had persisted during the administration of

[1] On Irish Church Establishment.

their predecessors in office. He answered that he was convinced that such was the case, and he then began to talk of the difficulty of forming a new Government composed, as it must be, of such discordant materials which, although united for the sole purpose of compelling the late Ministers to resign, could have no bond of union and must soon disagree amongst themselves.

"I should certainly say from the King's manner and conversation that he is sincerely sorry for the resignation of Sir Robert Peel, and that he feels that, sooner or later, it must be injurious to his own affairs. M. de Broglie[1] says but little upon the subject. He told me, however, this morning, that Lord Granville was his intimate friend and that he should be sorry if any other person were named to Paris.

"Believe me, etc.,

"COWLEY."

April 17.

"MY DEAR DUKE,

"Many of the foreign diplomatists at Paris are of opinion that as soon as the approaching trials are over some of the present Ministers will urge the necessity of the armed interference of France for the purpose of putting an end to the war upon the Spanish Frontier. When I say many of the foreign diplomatists, I do not mean to include the Austrian Ambassador or the Russian and Prussian Ministers, who are of a contrary opinion, and are convinced that the King, and even M. de Broglie, would oppose a measure of this kind with all their influence. It is, however, believed here that, sooner or later, the Spanish Government will apply for the assistance of France to put an end to the war, and many think that the application, if made, would meet with a favourable reception from some, at least, of the present Ministers, however it might be disliked and resisted by the King.

"I have thought it right to mention this, although I do not myself believe (judging principally from the King's assurances to me) that there are any grounds for apprehending a change of system on the part of this Government with respect to Spain.

"M. de Berger's speech upon the American claims has made a strong impression in the Chamber of Deputies, and it is thought that in consequence the Ministers may lose some votes; they still,

[1] President of the Council.

however, expect to carry the question by a considerable majority.

"The King has no apprehension as to the result of the approaching trials. He expects to get through them without any difficulty

"Ever most affly yours,

"COWLEY."

April 24.

"MY DEAR ARTHUR,

"I have received your letter of the 16th inst. I conclude you are no longer at the Foreign Office.

"I suppose I shall receive the official announcement of the appointment of the new Ministers on Thursday next. As soon as I receive it, if I am not recalled, I shall send in my resignation. I must wait for my letters of re-credence, and suppose I shall be in England in about three weeks from this time.

"Broglie cannot conceal his satisfaction at the changes and at the prospect of having Lord Granville here again. I think the King is sorry for the change, and well he may be if he understands his own interests.

"My coming here has not been without its advantages, as I am certain it has convinced the King that he has nothing to fear from a Conservative Government.

"I have now no doubt that Broglie delayed the appointment of an Agent to act in concert with Lord Eliot[1] because he thought we were going out, and he will make a merit of it with the new Ministers.

"Frias has presented a long note in which it appears to me there are many mistakes. I conclude that Alava has communicated it to you. I do not think that Frias has ever been very cordial in the business, and he let out to me that in his opinion it would have been better not to have sent anybody to Don Carlos. The question of humanity has little weight with him or, indeed, with any Spaniard that ever I met with. Neither party care much how many are murdered on either side. I believe that Sebastiani[2] is very sorry for the change, and particularly to lose you at the Foreign Office. . . ."

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[1] Lord Eliot and Lt.-Col. Gurwood were sent to Spain by the Duke of Wellington, while at the Foreign Office, to effect agreement between the commanders of the two armies.

[2] French Ambassador in England.

From Lord Cowley's Diary

1836. *England.*—As the events of the present year are likely to be of importance both at home and abroad, I have determined to keep a Diary of the transactions as they occur.

Our situation with respect to our foreign relations is by no means encouraging. We are looked upon with an eye of suspicion by all the Great Powers of Europe, not excepting France, who is very apprehensive of the effect which our revolutionary proceedings may produce upon her own system as it has been established by Louis-Philippe.

As yet the efforts of the Queen Regent of Spain have been ineffectual for the reduction of the Northern Provinces. Don Carlos continues to maintain himself in those Provinces, but has never been in sufficient strength (particularly in cavalry) to make a forward movement towards Madrid. Colonel Evans's corps has hitherto done nothing but consume provisions, and must be an enormous expense to the Queen's Government. It remains to be seen whether M. de Mendizabal's[1] plans will be attended with more success than those of his predecessors in office. The great object of the Ultra Liberals is the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1812, which has twice been found to be impracticable, and if again adopted would probably lead to the same results as in 1823.

Our Government appears to be particularly jealous of the designs of Russia. Our remonstrances and menaces are treated with equal contempt by the Government, and certainly the result of the proceedings of Lord Melbourne's Administration, both at home and abroad, has been to indispose all the principal Powers of Europe towards Great Britain. One of the first Ministers told me the other day that he and his colleagues scarcely ever saw Palmerston, and when they did see him they conversed chiefly upon indifferent matters.

The appearance of the Portfolio[2] has occasioned a great sensation here. Matuscewitz[3] has written to deny all participation in the offensive despatch respecting the Duke of Wellington. Madame

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[1] Minister to Queen Christina and leader of the Democratic Party.

[2] Correspondence between the Russian Government and its Agents, published by Mr. Urquhart, said to expose the secret policy of the Russian Cabinet.

[3] A Polish statesman and a friend of the Duke of Wellington.

de Lieven,[1] on the other hand, declares that her husband was compelled by Matuscewitz to sign the despatch.

Our domestic policy affords equal grounds for apprehension. The Government, it is said, are determined to stand or fall by the appropriation clause in the Irish Bill. Some say that they will modify it in order to catch votes, and that at all events they will dissolve Parliament in hopes of strengthening themselves, and not give up their offices until this experiment has been tried. It is supposed that the King has given his consent to a dissolution if judged necessary, and his motive for doing so is stated to be that by the new Law appointments he has got rid of Lord Brougham. Ministers are said to be in good spirits, but are entirely dependent for their places upon the support of O'Connell and his gang.

Some of the leading Tories think that the Government will stand, but the general feeling of the Party is that by proper exertion they may be driven out.

January 24.—I called yesterday upon Lord Wellesley, who says he knows from good authority that the King has consented to a dissolution of Parliament should Lord Melbourne judge such a measure to be necessary. I learnt from another quarter that Lord Melbourne had pressed the King for the facilities he had afforded in regard to the new Law appointment. This looks as if he were getting more reconciled to his present Minister, and who can wonder if such should be the case after his having been abandoned by Sir Robert Peel almost without a struggle! . . .

January 25.— . . . Intelligence has been received of an action between the Christinos and Carlists, which took place on the 16th inst, near Vitoria. On the 16th Cordova attacked the Carlists, but was compelled to retreat. On the 17th the Carlists attacked in their turn, but the result of the action was not known. It is supposed, however, that Cordova has been compelled to return to Vitoria.

The forces of Don Carlos in the Northern Provinces and in those of Arragon and Valencia are said to amount to nearly 100,000 men. This must be an exaggerated statement.

[1] Princesse de Lieven, a Russian. Her husband was Ambassador in England for many years. She was acquainted with leading politicians in England and France, and was said to have considerable influence in European affairs generally. Prince de Lieven died in 1839, after which she settled in Paris.

January 31.—Two more numbers of the Portfolio have been published, and there is a despatch from Pozzo di Borgo, in which he gives an account of a conversation which had passed between the Duc de Mortemart and Prince Metternich at Vienna respecting the Russian Army, which the latter represented to be much less formidable than it was generally supposed to be in Europe. The report of this conversation has done more, in my mind, to establish the authenticity of the papers which have appeared in this publication than any other circumstance which has come to my knowledge. The general tenor of Prince Metternich's remarks upon the Russian Army is exactly conformable to what he has stated to me over and over again upon the same subject. In fact, the Russian Army is formidable in Russia, but much less so when engaged in a foreign war. It is seldom that more than 100,000 men can be brought into the field, and owing to the defective system of their commissariat they are not always in a position to act. This was the case in their campaign against the Turks in the last war, when their army was nearly destroyed, and if the Turks had had the good sense to make peace at the end of the campaign they would have obtained very favourable terms and would have left it a doubtful problem whether or not they were able to contend with the Russians single-handed.

It was also the case in their last war with the Polish insurgents, against whom they certainly would not have succeeded in one campaign if the insurgents had only been true to themselves. For it was owing to their quarrels among themselves that the Russians were successful.

January 31.—It seems to me generally admitted that the actions of the 16th and 17th near Vitoria were favourable to Don Carlos, but no detailed accounts have as yet been received.

The trial of Fieschi[1] is begun, and he seems to have acknowledged everything with which he is charged. The barrels of the infernal machine were loaded each with two musket balls, four smaller ones, and one cut into four pieces, with screw nails in some of the barrels. He admits that his object was the destruction of the King and his sons.

February 4.— . . . The Queen Regent of Spain has dismissed

[1] For an attempt on the lives of Louis-Philippe and his sons. He was executed on February 19.

the Cortes on account of their having rejected the seventeenth article of the law for Elections. They are to assemble again in March. It is thought that Mendizabal will be compelled to resign.

No detailed accounts have as yet been received of the affairs of January 16th and 17th near Vitoria.

February 7.—It is stated in to-day's newspaper that the French Ministers, with the Duc de Broglie at their head, have resigned, that Sebastiani is to succeed Broglie, who is to come here as Ambassador. It appears, however, that nothing is finally settled.

Mr. Barton, the American Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, had arrived at Washington, and the language there was very violent. Still it was thought that war would not take place.

February 13.—Last night in the House of Lords, Lord Londonderry, after a speech condemning the policy of His Majesty's Government with respect to the affairs of Spain, asked for papers as to the assistance afforded by Great Britain in warlike stores, etc. The papers were presented by Lord Melbourne, who replied in a better speech than usual. Lord Aberdeen also spoke.

Diary continued in 1841.—On August 24, 1841, an amendment was moved to the Address in both Houses of Parliament expressive of want of confidence in Her Majesty's Ministers. This was carried in both Houses by large majorities. On the 27th Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell announced to the Lords and Commons that Ministers had resigned their offices. On the 29th Sir Robert Peel was sent for by the Queen, and was desired to submit a new Administration[1] for her approval.

On Saturday morning, September 8, I called upon Lord Aberdeen by his desire at the Foreign Office. He began by asking me what were my feelings about going to Paris.[2] I answered that I was ready to do whatever the Government wished. He then said: "Well, but do you feel yourself equal to it? How is your health? That used to be precarious." I answered: "I have no fear about my health, but, my Lord, if it would tend to strengthen the present

[1] Lord Aberdeen was Foreign Secretary. In this Cabinet the Duke of Wellington sat without office.

[2] In the Memoirs of the Duchesse de Dino there is an entry (October 1, 1841): "Monsieur Guizot told me that Lord Cowley would certainly be the Ambassador at Paris, and his appointment is desired here."

Government, I am quite ready to give up the appointment, for I consider it to be the duty of every individual connected with the public service to make any sacrifice in his power to keep the Government in office, for I look upon it that the future welfare of the country depends upon their continuance in power." To this he answered after a pause: "Well, I shall see Sir Robert Peel this evening, and will speak to him upon the subject. I am not aware that he has anyone in view for the appointment. In the meanwhile this will remain between ourselves." I asked if I should call again later in the day, that I was in the country. He said no, that he would communicate with me.

October 1.—After this I naturally expected that he would see me again before settling anything with respect to the Embassy to Paris. But after an interval of three weeks I received a note from him saying that he had announced my appointment[1] to Count St. Aulaire,[2] and that he wished me to lose no time in making my preparations for my departure.

October 6.—I have been reading a despatch of Mr. Bulwer's,[3] dated April 23, relative to the state of parties and politics at Paris. M. Guizot, the real chief of the Government, Marshal Soult, no influence excepting what he derives from representing the King's opinions, M. Guizot, remarkable for firmness, prudence and moderation—at the same time his position by no means a firm one. His own personal friends few, his manners, parts and disposition though calculated to secure respect, are not popular. His supporters in the Chamber: First, the Centre, or Conservatives, headed by MM. Molé and Lamartine; secondly, the left Centre, or moderate Liberal Party, represented by M. Papy and M. Dufaure. The Conservative Party by far the strongest, and composes the bulk of M. Guizot's supporters. Disliked, nevertheless, by M. Molé,

[1] The following extracts from two letters written by Lord Cowley to Lord Wellesley at this time are of interest: "I believe you already know of my appointment to Paris, although it was only announced to me yesterday morning by Lord Aberdeen. . . . Many thanks for your most kind letter, the latter part of which is more gratifying to me than all the rest, for it has ever been my pride to be considered as your pupil, and in all the public situations I have held it has been my chief endeavour to conduct myself in such a manner as not to discredit the affectionate interest you have never ceased to manifest towards me."

[2] Now French Ambassador in London.

[3] William Henry Lytton Bulwer, afterwards Lord Dalling, then Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, later Ambassador at Madrid.

M. Paly and Dufaure, the latter pledged to Parliamentary Reform and the former a rigid Economist, give only a transient support. Their Party musters about eighteen or twenty votes. M. Dufaure, a good debater; M. Papy, a clever, respectable man; M. Molé, disposed at no distant time to hoist his own banner of opposition. The Chamber of Peers and many of the Chamber of Deputies would in that case go with him. Molé in favour of an alliance with England.

The Nation entirely recovered from that military paroxysm into which it was thrown by M. Thiers.

The King showed much dexterity by contriving to break up the most formidable combination in the Chambers that France could bring together, to carry his favourite project of fortifying Paris, and at the same time to ruin the reputation of M. Thiers, the person he most dreaded.

The King and his Ministers very desirous that the Eastern question should be settled. France desirous of forming an alliance with Austria and Prussia instead of Great Britain.

There is a great deal of reasoning in the able despatch [of Bulwer's] in order to show the desire of the King to form this new alliance—subsequent events will show how far Mr. Bulwer is right. I should doubt the disposition of Austria to form an alliance from which Great Britain was to be excluded . . . unless, indeed, the utter slackness and incapacity of Lord Melbourne's Government should, in the opinion of Prince Metternich, have rendered an alliance with Great Britain a connection rather to be avoided than sought for. We may now hope for better things.

I have read another résumé of Mr. Bulwer's, dated September 6, after a period of five months from the last. The parties opposed to the present Government are those of MM. Thiers, Odillon Barrot, La Fitte and Bérenger. The principal persons of Thiers's party are Rémusat, Jaubert and D'Houvanne, the intimate friend of the Duc de Broglie. These three men were once followers of Guizot. Odillon Barrot is the only person possessing any influence in his party. M. La Fitte has no person of note in his party excepting Arago.

Bérenger alone in the Chamber of Deputies supported in the Peers by M. de Noailles and Bugé.

Thiers anxious to return to power, Odillon Barrot for popularity, La Fitte for vengeance against the King—Bérenger to produce disorder.

Molé's party the chief support of the Government. Lamartine the leader of that party in the Lower Chamber. The Left Centre about thirty under the guidance of Dufaure and Papy.

Jealousy subsists between Soult and Guizot. Government supported by parties hostile to each other. Parties so divided that it is hardly possible to change the Government, which is nevertheless by no means strong. All parties resolved to exclude Thiers from the Government. In this state of things Guizot is likely to take root, but much may depend on accidents.

Peace the great object of the King, Guizot and of the Nation generally.

Guizot looks to the establishment of the influence of France in Europe by peaceable means, particularly hostile to a convention with Germany. Louis-Philippe entertains the same opinions—most anxious for an alliance with Austria and Prussia as being the military powers most contiguous to France.

The policy of France the extension of French influence over Belgium, over the Rhine, the Mediterranean, along the African coast, in Egypt and Syria, the submission of Spain. This is the policy of all French Ministers of whatever party.

The King lost much popularity in consequence of the publication of the famous letters[1]—the King depending solely upon the Army.

France improving greatly in agriculture, commerce and manufactures. Her fleet both warlike and commercial, considerably increased.

October 12, 1841.—The Government are very anxious for intelligence from America. Many people think that we shall not escape a war.[2]

An insurrection has broken out in the Basque Provinces, and O'Donnell has got possession of the Citadel at Pampeluna. The insurrection does not make much progress—an attempt to carry off the Queen from Madrid, which failed.

October 17.—I had a visit to-day from Baron Capelle, one of the Ministers of Charles X, who has lately passed some time in France. He says he thinks that country is in a very disturbed state—that

[1] Some Legitimist newspapers published so-called letters of Louis-Philippe upon European affairs written during his exile. They were afterwards proved to be forgeries.

[2] On account of the Macleod and Grogan incidents. *See* note, p. 211.

Louis-Philippe is losing much of his influence, and that the project of fortifying Paris was a most absurd one. One of the King's objects is to marry one of his sons to the young Queen of Spain, which, however, is likely to come to nothing. The Queen Christina brought away a great deal of money with her from Spain, and he says that he knows she has three hundred thousand pounds lodged in our funds in the name of Mũnoz. He believes it to be quite true that she was lately brought to bed in Paris.

October 18, 1841.—I called to-day upon Baron Brunow,[1] who told me that M. de St. Aulaire had received a very satisfactory letter from M. Guizot as to the intentions of Louis-Philippe with reference to the insurrection which has lately broken out in Spain. That it was utterly false that the King had connived at the attempt on the part of Queen Christina's partisians—nor did he intend to take part in the hostilities now going on in Spain. M. de Guizot declared that the King had no intention of forming a matrimonial alliance with Spain by the union of one of his sons with the young Queen Isabella.

October 22.—Mr. Bulwer writes that the French have twenty sail of the line in the Mediterranean, twelve sail at Toulon and the rest at Algiers and other places. This is all they have in commission. The King and Guizot suspected of aiding the insurrection in Spain, though Guizot continues to deny it—the King's object to marry his son to the young Queen. All this contradictory to what has been stated before on this subject.

Lord Aberdeen's instructions to Mr. Aston[2] are to give a moral support to the present Government as it exists in Spain, but to abstain from all interference between the parties. . . .

Sir Robert Gordon told me to-day that Lord Aberdeen was quite surprised at the capacity and quickness of the Queen [Victoria] and at her attention to business.

I have received a letter from Mr. Bulwer, dated the 22nd, in which he says that the attempted insurrection in Spain is a complete failure, to the disappointment of Louis-Philippe and the confusion of Soult. But he believes Guizot to be innocent of the business, as a man in his situation and thinking it a foolish one, could be.

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[1] Russian Ambassador in London.

[2] British Minister at Madrid.

October 25.—The conspiracy broke out earlier than was intended owing to the discovery at Pampeluna, which has been the principal cause of its want of success.

The Government of France disavows all the proceedings, and the best thing to do is to pretend to believe them.

October 30.—Despatches have been received from Mr. Bulwer, in which he gives an account of a conversation he had had with Louis-Philippe in which the King disavowed any knowledge of or participation in the late insurrection in Spain. Mr. Bulwer, however, suspects that it was known and encouraged by him, and that he still entertains the project of marrying one of his sons to the young Queen of Spain. Soult also disavows having any knowledge of the conspiracy, and Mr. Bulwer thinks that M. Guizot objected to it as wild and dangerous, but upon O'Donnell's first success was inclined to countenance it. He has since, however, condemned it, and boasts that from the first knowledge of it he had disapproved of it.

I called upon Lord Aberdeen lately to announce to him that I was ready to take my departure on November 2. He said he must announce it to the Queen, but he doubted whether she would be able to give me an audience. I have not since heard from him.

Intelligence was received to-day from America of the acquittal of Macleod[1] after a trial which lasted eight days. Grogan[2] has been delivered up by the Government of Canada.

November 1.—I called this morning upon Lord Aberdeen to ask whether we were to have an audience of the Queen before our departure. He replied that he had written to the Queen and expected her answer this evening.

I then spoke to him of the condition of the house at Paris, which, by all accounts, was so bad that it was impossible to live in it, and that I should be under the necessity while it was under repair to hire another house for a few months. In this he acquiesced.

Upon my inquiring whether it was his intention to furnish me

[1] Alexander Macleod, an English subject, tried at New York for complicity in the burning of the steamboat *Caroline*, on the Niagara, in 1837. He was acquitted, but had a narrow escape from hanging.

[2] On September 20, 1841, Colonel James W. Grogan, a citizen of the United States, was carried off to Montreal by brigands in English uniforms. He was immediately liberated by the Governor of Canada, and an English officer, Mr. Jackson, who had taken part in the raid, was punished.

with instructions in writing, he said he did not think anything likely to happen which would require any specific instructions. Upon my mentioning Spain, he said the present French Government and Louis-Philippe himself had positively disavowed any participation in the late conspiracy, and that he thought that the best thing the Spanish Government, as well as the Allied Powers could do, would be to give them credit for this disavowal. That such were his instructions to Mr. Aston and to the other diplomatic agents at the Allied Courts. That with respect to the supposed design of Louis-Philippe to marry one of his sons to the young Queen of Spain, the King had desired M. de St. Aulaire to declare that if such an alliance were proposed to him to-morrow he should reject it, for that such an alliance would be most burdensome to France. Lord A. thinks, however, that the King often changes his opinion upon this subject. Sometimes he is for declining the connection with Spain, and at other times he is filled with the ambitious projects of Louis XIV, which would lead him to make such an alliance. Their policy now, however, was to keep well with the present Government of Spain, and no project for a matrimonial alliance was at present in contemplation. Supposing, I said, such a project to be again entertained, what would be the line of conduct of Great Britain—to oppose it? To oppose it by all the means in our power, said Lord Aberdeen ; indeed, we never could allow of it. He said that he had sent for St. Aulaire to question him about the large body of troops assembling upon the frontier of Spain. He answered that it was on account of the disturbed state of the Catalan frontier, all the inhabitants of those parts being Radicals and Revolutionists. The French, however, had shown a disposition for a pacific conduct by disarming six sail of the line which had been laid up at Brest.

I then inquired as to the line of conduct to be followed with respect to Algiers, adding that the Duke of Wellington had instructed me in 1835 not to touch upon that subject with the French Government. Lord Aberdeen wished the same line of conduct to be observed now. . . . The British Government had not admitted the right of France to keep possession of Algiers, and indeed the British Consul at that place exercised his functions under an exequatur from the Porte. Algiers, however, was a drain upon France both in men and money, and it was not likely she would ever derive any advantage from that possession.

I then asked him about the Treaty in contemplation between France and Belgium, which King Leopold is extremely anxious to bring about. Lord Aberdeen thought it never could be more than a simple Treaty of Commerce which the Allies would have no right to oppose, but anything amounting to political interference or protection on the part of France would, no doubt, be viewed by the Great Powers of Europe as an undue interference in the neutrality which it was agreed should be strictly observed by Belgium when she became an independent state.

The last subject of our conversation related to the affairs of the East, and he promised to send me a copy of his instructions to Sir Stratford Canning.

As to Greece, the King was the principal cause of the misgovernment in that quarter. He believed that our Minister (Lyons) was not popular, either with the King or with his colleagues. It was his intention, however, to support him.

PARIS.—1841-1842

II

Audience with Louis-Philippe—The Spanish marriage—King no desire for Alliance but favoured a Bourbon—Guizot and the King's conversation—French Ambassador's credentials to Court of Spain—Russian absence from Audience on New Year's Day—Guizot and Madame de Lieven—Conspiracies against Spanish Government hatched in France—The Slave Trade Treaty not ratified—Report on Spanish conspiracies—Guizot denies that the Government could do more to suppress them—France and the question of search—Conversation about Algiers and feeling in France—Mission of M. Pageot on Spanish marriage—Louis-Philippe insists on choice of Bourbon Prince—Review of session—Don Carlos's son favoured for Spanish marriage—Morocco—Death of Duke of Orleans—Question of duties—Buenos Aires and Montevideo—Disaffection in the Army.

November 11, 1841. *Diary.*—We left London on the 4th (of November) and arrived at Dover on the following morning. We embarked on the 6th, in the mail, and had a most favorable passage of two hours and a half. We reached Paris on the 10th. I immediately wrote to M. Guizot to announce my arrival, and he appointed the following day to receive me. He received me with great kindness, and said that my appointment was most agreeable to the King and Queen, who would no doubt appoint an early day to receive my credentials. I had my audience of the King and Queen on Monday, the 15th. Both received me with all possible marks of attention and kindness. On Tuesday, the 16th, we dined at the Tuileries, and after dinner the King took me into another room and began a long conversation upon a variety of subjects, but principally upon the affairs of Spain. He laboured much to prove that he had had nothing to do with the late conspiracy—there is no doubt, however, that he had a full knowledge of it and was much concerned at its failure. He said he had much reason to complain of Espartero's Government, but that he was willing to

maintain amicable relations with him, although he detested him personally for his treacherous conduct to Queen Christina, which compelled her to leave Spain. He was nevertheless of opinion that she had abandoned Spain and her daughter sooner than she ought to have done, or than her personal safety required. He disclaimed all projects of ambition with respect to Spain either by conquest or by alliance, for he had no desire that any one of his sons should marry the young Queen. He was supposed to be ambitious, but he had no desire to obtain new acquisitions for France, his only ambition was to promote the welfare and prosperity of the country over which he ruled and to promote and inspire its commerce, agriculture and manufactures.

I went to the Tuileries a few nights afterwards when he renewed the conversation about Spain, saying M. Olozaga, the Spanish Minister, had presented a note expressing the hope that as tranquillity was restored in Spain the French Government would afford some assurance that they would use their best endeavours to prevent France from being in future the focus of conspiracies against the present order of things in Spain, to which a satisfactory answer would be returned by M. Guizot. I observed that our policy would be to afford a wise support to the present Government of Spain without having anything to say to their internal disputes and quarrels—to which he replied: "Vous êtes bien bon de leur porter un soutien mais, pour moi, je ne leur prêterai aucun, quoique je viverai en bonne intelligence avec eux." He then talked of the marriage of the young Queen, repeating that whatever others might think he had no desire that one of his sons should marry her, but that she must marry a Bourbon, and that he thought Queen Christina would prefer the son of Don Carlos to the son of Don Francisco.

I said I had always heard that the two sisters were at variance. He answered: "Elles se détestent." and added: "Le mariage ne peut avoir lieu que dans trois ans."

M. Guizot has spoken confidentially to Mr. Bulwer on the subject of the King's conversations with individuals, particularly with the members of the *Corps diplomatique*. That His Majesty in these conversations often allowed himself to say too much, and that this had lately given rise to a notion that he had intentions with regard to Spain. He then said: "Mais souvenez-vous que nous sommes un Gouvernement et vous ne devez attribuer de

l'importance qu'à ce que vient du Gouvernement." Upon hearing this I determined to have an explanation with M. Guizot upon the subject. I told him that Mr. Bulwer had informed me of the confidential conversation he had had with him relative to the King's conversations with individuals—that I was perfectly aware that upon all public affairs I was to address myself to him as the organ and interpreter of the intentions of the Government—that the King's conversation was certainly very fascinating and that I was not at all surprised that the members of the *corps diplomatique* should be delighted when he did them the honour to converse with them. He replied: "You are perfectly right. Still I am the person who am to communicate with the members of the *corps diplomatique* upon public affairs—et ils doivent se tenir à ce que je leur dirais, et je crois, Milord, que vous pouvez me donner votre confiance." I replied: "Assurément, mais de mon coté aussi je vous demande votre confiance": to which he said: "Vous le possédez déjà, Milord.

November 23.—We were at a concert at the Duke of Orleans's where I was presented to Queen Christina, who was very civil to me.

November 27 *to December* 19.—The great object of the Government is to connect the Radical Press with the recent attempt to assassinate the Royal Family. In the trial of Quimpet and his accomplices they attach, therefore, much greater importance to the condemnation of the journalist of the *Ami du Peuple* accused of being in the conspiracy to assassinate the King's sons, than to the conviction of Quimpet or of any of the other individuals under trial for that offence. No sentence has yet (Dec. 19th) been pronounced, but it is probable that Dupoty, the journalist, will be condemned.

M. Molé is at the bottom of the intrigue for putting M. de Lamartine forward for the Presidency. It is not yet known whether he will stand or not—if he does he will probably be beaten, but the Government will probably lose some of their supporters in the Chamber of Deputies. M. Guizot reckons upon a considerable majority in the Chambers.

The last time I saw the King he assured me that his great object was to retain his present Ministers because he thought that they had

Francois Pierre Guillaume Guizot.

the confidence of the great Powers, and that their maintenance in power was advantageous for France, and afforded the best security for the maintenance of tranquillity in Europe.

December 22.—I went last night to the Tuileries and had a long conversation with the King. He began upon the state of affairs at Paris, saying that he hoped that the result of the trial of Quimpet and his accomplices would place things upon a better footing here, particularly with reference to the Press. He then spoke of the project of putting forward M. de Lamartine for the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies. He had no doubt, however, that M. Guizot would be elected by a large majority, and he did not believe the strength of the Government would be much, if at all, diminished in the Chambers. He hoped to be able to maintain the present Government in power since it afforded the best hope for the continuance of peace in France and in Europe. He then spoke of the affairs of the East saying that he hoped peace would be preserved by the united efforts of the Allies at Constantinople—and that the Sultan would not only be deterred from any hostile action against Greece, but also from any project having for its object to render the Government of Tunis more subservient to the Porte. I said that I had very little doubt that there would be a perfect understanding among the Allies as to the measures to be procured for restraining the Porte, as well as for effecting an improvement in the Government of Greece.

The King turned the conversation to Spain, observing that M. de Salvandy[1] had been very well received on his journey through the country—but this was merely a prelude to his favourite topic of the marriage of the young Queen. I was glad to find, however, that he had entirely given up all idea of her union with one of his sons, and I did not scruple to tell him upon this occasion that such a union could never be approved by the great Powers. He said he was quite aware of this, and that he had entirely abandoned all thoughts of such an alliance for his son—all he desired was that she should unite herself with a Prince of the house of Bourbon, and that all things considered he thought a son of Don Carlos would be the best match for her, as it would tend to reconcile all parties in Spain. That one great obstacle to it would be the Princess of Beira, the wife of Don Carlos, who would not hear of

[1] Sent as French Ambassador to Madrid early in December.

her husband's giving up his right to the throne. The King desired me to speak to M. Guizot upon this subject, which I promised to do, observing, however, that I had no authority or instruction to enter upon the subject.

December 24.—Received a letter from Mr. Aston informing me of the difficulty respecting the presentation of Count Salvandy's credentials—he insisting on presenting them to the Queen, and the Regent[1] requiring that they should be presented to him. I believe Salvandy to be in the right, and he is instructed, if he (the Regent) persists in his pretensions, to demand his passports and to leave Madrid.

December 25.—Saw M. Guizot who insisted upon the right of the French Ambassador to present his letter of credence to the Queen. It is much to be apprehended, however, that the Regent will not give way—and in that case Salvandy is to quit Madrid leaving a French Chargé d'Affaires there. This will probably prevent the Courts of Russia, Austria and Prussia from resuming their diplomatic relations with Spain, which was much desired by Lord Aberdeen.

December 28.—Had an audience of the King for the purpose of congratulating him upon the conclusion of the Slave Trade Treaty.[2] He afterwards animadverted with much vehemence upon the conduct of the Regent of Spain in not suffering the Ambassador to present his letter of credence to the Queen of Spain—said that he could not concede the point, but that M. de Salvandy must come away ; would not push the matter further, but would leave a Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid. Talked afterwards of the King of Prussia going to England, and had proposed to him to embark at a French port and offered to meet him at Compiègne—thought he would not accept for fear of offending the Emperor of Russia, the constant enemy of Louis-Philippe, and doing him much mischief in France and other Countries.

M. Sauzet elected President of the Chamber by a large majority

[1] General Espartero.

[2] The struggle for the effective abolition of the Slave Trade continued. In 1831 and 1833 Great Britain had entered into an arrangement with France for a mutual right of search within certain seas, to which most of the other Powers acceded, and by the Ashburton Treaty with the United States (1842) provision was made for maintenance of squadrons on the West coast of Africa.

—this supposed to give preponderance in the Chambers to M. Dufaure's party and to lead to the proposal of measures of reform in the Session.

January 1 *to January* 11, 1842.—An audience when the Marquis of Brignole-Sale, Sardinian Ambassador, being the Senior Ambassador, read a speech of compliment to the King and Royal Family which was replied to by the King. It was remarkable that neither M. de Kisseleff, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, nor any of the attachés to the Russian Embassy were present on this occasion.

The speech of the Marquis de Brignole in the name of the *Corps Diplomatique* is much approved. That of the Duc de Broglie in the name of the Peers is important. He is not always favorable to the Government of Louis-Philippe, but on this occasion he declared the Government to be free and regular, and that vigilance was never more necessary than at present to restrain the factions.

It seems that General Pahlen, the Russian Ambassador, was removed from Paris because the Emperor Nicholas (who is very inimical to Louis-Philippe) did not choose that his Ambassador should be the person to compliment the King on New Year's Day. Instructions were consequently sent to M. Périer, the French Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburg, not to appear at Court on St. Nicholas Day—upon which M. Kisseleff was ordered to absent himself from the Tuileries on New Year's Day. Some very imprudent articles have since been inserted in the French journals and there is no saying how this affair will terminate.

The Salvandy affair is still unsettled. Lord Aberdeen has proposed, as a modification, that the Regent should be present when the Ambassador presented his credentials to the Queen, and should, if he thought proper, reply to the Ambassador's speech upon that occasion. I fear that this proposal will arrive too late and that Salvandy will have left Madrid. Indeed, it is not very likely that the Regent will agree, although his pretention to receive the letters himself is contrary to all precedent.

January 12.—I have seen a person to-day who I think will be very useful in procuring me intelligence. . . . He told me that the affair Périer was entirely M. Guizot's doing. That he apprehended that his (Guizot's) liaison with Madame de L.[1] might

[1] Madame de Lieven. *See* note, p. 204.

lead to remarks in the Chambers which would be prejudicial to him as it was believed that Madame de L. secretly corresponded with the Emperor [of Russia]. He therefore took this mode of showing that he was not influenced by her. The King at first objected to the instructions sent to M. Périer, but afterwards acquiesced in them. It is nevertheless supposed that the article in the *Journal des Débats* disapproving of the absence of Périer from Court and full of abuse of the Emperor Nicholas, was sanctioned by the King. Bontanieff is not charged with any mission, but it is supposed he is instructed to offer all discontented Frenchmen an asylum in Russia.

With respect to Algiers it is quite true that Louis-Philippe wants to make it a Vice Royalty and an appanage for his son, the Duc de Nemours, and this was the object in sending M. Rumigny to Algiers with an injunction to General Bugeaud[1] to come to Paris to attend the Chambers. General Bugeaud, however, would not join in the intrigue and refused to come away. M. Guizot, I understand, approves the conduct of General Bugeaud.

The King much annoyed at the liaison of Guizot with Madame de L.

January 16.—The debates upon the address have principally occupied the attention. M. Guizot's speech upon the first paragraph relative to Eastern affairs much admired. He made the remarkable declaration that France had done with intimate alliances, but was upon a cordial footing with all the great Powers. His speech less friendly to England than might have been expected.

M. de Salvandy is returned to Paris, having left Madrid on the 6th instant without presenting his credentials. Aston much abused by the French for his conduct in this affair, but very unjustly as I think.

I have reason to believe that fresh conspiracies against the present Government of Spain are organising in most of the great towns of Spain, and many others in Toulouse and Bayonne. The object is to promote a rising in the Basque Provinces, and it is probable that an insurrection will break out in the Spring. I believe this is known and not discouraged at the Tuileries, and certainly not by Queen Christina.

[1] Thomas Robert Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, Marshal of France, Governor of Algeria.

Princess Lieven.

From the picture by Sir Thomas Lawrence in the National Gallery.

January 20.—Discussions in the Chambers upon the right of search. I am rather apprehensive of the result.

January 24.—I am sorry to say that the new article extending the right of search has been lost, and the Government have declined ratifying the Treaty [for the Abolition of the Slave Trade]. Indeed it could not be expected that after the decision of the Chambers they should venture to ratify it. There is one general feeling against it throughout France. I am afraid this affair will make a very unfavourable impression in England.

January 25.—I saw M. Guizot this morning, who told me that under the circumstances of the case he would suspend the ratification of the Treaty. I asked if it was likely it would be ratified in the course of the Session. He said that this was a question he could not answer—he could only say that for the present the ratification must be suspended.

January 30.—I am just come from a conference with M. Guizot upon the Slave Trade Treaty. He said he had attended at a Council at the Tuileries to-day where the subject was discussed—that the King was determined to ratify the Treaty but this could not be done at present—that he had, however, come out of the discussion in the Chambers reserving to himself the power to ratify. There are, however, two modifications which, if England would consent to, might greatly accelerate the period for the ratification. The one was that the Mandat to the Cruisers should be renewed every year —the second that the necessity for continuing the extension of the zones should be examined every three years. He was, he said, about to write to M. de St. Aulaire to propose these modifications. I asked him whether they were to extend to all the Powers included in the Treaty or whether it was simply to be an agreement between France and England. He said he had no objection to an additional article between France and England, if this could be done.

February 20.—I was last night at the Tuileries and had a conversation with the King on the subject of the Slave Trade Treaty. He lamented much that the ratifications had not been sent to London before the question came on in the Chamber of Deputies.

That the attack was directed against Guizot, and that if he were to ratify immediately it would endanger the existence of the

Government. He hoped the modifications sent to England might be approved. That he thought eighteen months ought to be substituted for a year for delivering new orders to the Cruizers. He thought likewise that there was no use in the Article respecting the extension of the zones. He was quite determined to ratify the Treaty as soon as it could be done with safety to his Government. The American Minister was very busy in inciting the Opposition Deputies to resist the ratification.

I observed to the King that, by the Preamble to the Treaty, he and the Queen invited the other great Powers of Europe to accede to it, how strange then it must appear and what an infringement upon his prerogative, that he should be compelled by the vote of the Chambers to be the first to delay the ratifications. He said that this was probably true, but that this was the condition to which he was reduced by the spirit which prevailed in the Chambers, where the Opposition and indeed many of those who supported the Government desired nothing so much as war without and insurrection within. That he felt the best chance of preserving peace was to maintain the present Government in power and to risk nothing which could shake it. I observed that the persons who thought they revenged themselves upon the Opposition in our Parliament for the transaction of July 15th, were very much mistaken, for that they could not serve them more effectually than by putting obstacles in the way of this Treaty, as it furnished them with a pretext for attacking the Government, of which they would undoubtedly avail themselves. The King replied that if the modifications proposed by M. Guizot could be made palatable to our Government we might ratify immediately. I observed that a considerable time must elapse before the ratifications could be concluded, as even if the modifications were acceded to, any new stipulation must be ratified by each of the Powers engaged in the Treaty, and this could not be done in less than two or three months.

I have received another report relative to the conspiracies plotting against Spain.

The Carlist Party is divided into two factions—one called extreme and the other moderate. The first will not obey Don Carlos, nor hear of any compromise. The other, at the head of which is General Villa Real, residing at present at Bordeaux, has declared for the Christinas.

Don Carlos has addressed a Circular Letter to all the Carlist

Committees dispersed through France, signed by himself, and lately brought to Paris by a priest, ordering his Party to unite themselves in future to the moderates, (as he styles the Christinas) as by this means they can hope to triumph over the present Government of Madrid. He adds that those who are desirous of repairing to the Frontiers or to Portugal are at liberty to do so, and may reckon upon pecuniary assistance from France for their expenses on the road. That War will be commenced and carried on with great vigour next spring, and that the good cause will certainly be successful, because everything will be prepared beforehand and money will not be wanting.

The Bishop's party announced that they could not obey the King's mandate because he was a prisoner in a foreign country and surrounded by traitors. This is signed amongst others by M. Louis Pardo.

The Christinas are equally active in preparing for another insurrection in Spain. The military part of their plan is conducted by General Narvaez and the political part is carried on by Leon Colombi and Martinez de la Rosa. Queen Christina has still at her disposition £100,000 worth of musquets purchased in Belgium to aid in the last insurrection.

A Banking House established for that express purpose at Marseilles by Lea, sent pecuniary supplies to Barcelona in the course of last month in aid of the Christinas.

February 14.—I have at last received a despatch from Lord Aberdeen remonstrating strongly upon the hesitation of the French Government to ratify the Slave Trade Treaty. I read this despatch to M. Guizot this evening, but it has not, I am sorry to say, altered his determination not to ratify during the present Session. He said that if we would accept the modifications proposed by France (which Lord Aberdeen in his despatch declined doing) he would ratify immediately, but that if Her Majesty's Government were still of opinion that they would not be accepted, the four Powers might exchange the ratifications, leaving the Protocol open for the acceptance of France at some future period.

February 19.—Intelligence has been received from Lisbon that the Queen (Maria II) [1] has accepted Dom Pedro's charter (of 1833)

[1] In 1828 Dom Miguel usurped the throne of Portugal. Dom Pedro returned from Brazil in 1832, and after a year of war, Miguel was defeated, and in 1834 Donna Maria was recognised as Sovereign.

which had been previously proclaimed at Oporto, and that the Duke of Terceira has been appointed President of the Council.

February 20.—I called this evening upon M. Guizot, having been instructed by Lord Aberdeen to speak to him upon the subject of the conspiracies carrying on against the present order of things in Spain. He said he did not know that the Government could do more than they had already done to discourage them. That as soon as he had received the note addressed to him by M. Hermandez, the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, he had recommended it to the attention of the Minister of the Interior who had issued orders for the removal into the interior of the persons complained of. That he was ready to repeat the same order against persons to whom suspicion attached of being engaged in these conspiracies. That the object of the French Government was to keep clear of any concern in the affairs of Spain beyond what was necessary for the maintenance of the diplomatic relations existing between the two countries.

"It is true," he said, "that we do not approve Espartero's Government, but we shall never lend ourselves to any conspiracy having for its object to overturn it."

Upon my mentioning the report that the signal for the breaking out of the insurrection was to be the murder of Espartero, he said: "Of course we are not suspected of any participation in so atrocious a plot." I said: "On the contrary, Lord Aberdeen is convinced that the French Government is incapable of affording any encouragement to these conspirators, but he thinks that measures might be adopted by France effectually to check these machinations."

I then mentioned the report of the union between the Carlists and Christinas, the object of which must be the marriage of a son of Don Carlos with the young Queen. He answered that he conceived this union to be very probable since each party had found that it was not strong enough to cope single-handed with Spain. That as to the marriage it was a matter of indifference to the King who was the individual selected for the husband of the Queen, whether the Prince of Naples or Siena, or a son of Don Carlos, provided that person was an individual of the House of Bourbon, but that France would never hear of any other connection for the Queen.

I then asked him if any news had reached him from Lisbon.

He said that all he knew was that the Queen had accepted Dom Pedro's charter and that the Duke of Terceira was President of the Council. That it was reported that the Queen was at the bottom of this affair, but he was quite certain that this was not true, for she had learned that a reaction would probably soon take place which would place her in a worse situation than she was before.

I then asked him if he had received any communication from M. de St. Aulaire relative to the Slave Trade Treaty. He answered that he had not, and that he did not expect to hear from him until after the day fixed for the exchange of the ratifications, that he had instructed him at the conference which would be held for that purpose to explain to the other plenipotentiaries the causes which obliged France to withhold her ratification for the present. That she wished for time to negociate upon the modifications she had proposed. That the other Powers might either suspend the ratification for the present, or they might exchange the ratifications, leaving the Protocol open so as to enable France to accede to the Treaty when circumstances would permit of it. This is nearly what he said to me as reported in my despatch of the 25th inst. to Lord Aberdeen.

February 22.—I went to-day to inform M. Guizot that I had that moment received a despatch from Lord Aberdeen enclosing the Protocol of the conference which took place on the 20th, when the ratifications of the Slave Trade Treaty were exchanged between Great Britain, Austria, Russia and Prussia—the Protocol being left open for the accession of France to the Treaty at some future period. M. de St. Aulaire had informed M. Guizot of what had taken place at the conference, but he had not received a copy of the Protocol.

I asked him whether there was any foundation for the report which was in circulation that the American Minister, General Cody, had addressed a note to the Government entering a protest against the acquiescence of France in the right of search. He replied that there was no truth whatever in that report, that it was true that General Cody had a few days ago addressed a letter to M. Guizot stating that the Treaties of 1831 and 1832 contained admissions on the part of France as to the right of search to which the Government of the United States could not subscribe. I understood him to say

that this was done by order of the President. I asked him whether this letter was to be considered as official. He replied certainly he considered it to be official. There has been a great deal of abuse against England in the French newspapers because the four Powers have endorsed the ratifications of the Slave Trade Treaty leaving the Protocol open for France. M. Guizot wants now to negociate for the modifications, and has already begun to negociate with Austria and Prussia with a view to prevailing upon them to admit the French modifications. The newspapers say it is an insult to France for the four Powers to have ratified without the connivance of France, but call it a second edition of the Treaty of July 15th.[1]

March 4.—The questions in Parliament upon the conspiracies carrying on upon the French frontier have had the effect of inducing the Government to take some steps to counteract them. M. Guizot has given me a most solemn assurance that the French *Government* has nothing to do with this and is determined to do what it can to counteract them. He knows, he says, that there are "commérages" going on (meaning, I believe, at the Tuileries) which he cannot prevent, but that everything which a Government can do shall be done to put an end to these plots.

Don Carlos has refused to give up his rights to the sovereignty and this will probably put an end to the union between the Carlists and Christinas, which will go far towards breaking up these conspiracies.

March 8.—Questions have been asked in Parliament relative to the conversation about Algiers which passed between Lord Aberdeen and M. de St. Aulaire. This has also made the Paris Press very angry. Some of them talk of the *Faquinerie anglaise*, but the Faquins are those who avail themselves of the weakness of an Ally to seize upon one of his provinces, and this is exactly the case between the Porte and France with respect to Algiers.

March 15.—The interpellations in Parliament and in the Chamber of Deputies upon the subject of Algiers, the conspiracies upon the

[1] The Treaty of London, July 15, 1840, between England, Russia, Austria and Prussia, by which they agreed to compel Mehemet Ali to withdraw from Syria. This Treaty, from which France was excluded, produced a profound distrust in that country, of English policy.

Spanish Frontiers and upon the Slave Trade Treaty have ceased. The French Government is now in earnest in its endeavours to check the conspiracies on the Frontier.

M. Pageot, lately French Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid, is gone to England upon a special mission, but without any official character. His object is to explain to the British Government that France has no intention of giving countenance to any plots against the present order of things in Spain.

He also expected to come to some understanding with England respecting the Marriage of the young Queen of Spain. He is to state that the King of the French has abandoned all idea of marrying one of his sons to the Queen, but he insists that she shall marry none but a Bourbon Prince.

March 19.—I had an interview last night with the King at the Tuileries, who lamented the questions which had been put to his own Ministers in the Chamber of Deputies and to Her Majesty's Ministers in Parliament respecting Algiers and Spain. These subjects, he said, should never have been touched upon by M. Guizot as his speeches upon them had led to all the vexatious discussions which had taken place in both Assemblies. H.M. talked a great deal about Algiers and said he doubted whether it would ever prove an advantageous possession to France. The occupation of France had so far been useful to the other Powers of Europe that it had put an end to piracy by which the commerce in the Mediterranean was formerly so much molested. The King expressed his anxious desire to keep on good terms with England and also to maintain his present Ministers in power.

March 21.—M. Guizot told me that M. Pageot was returned from London and that upon the whole he was satisfied with the result of his mission. He had interviews both with Lord Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel. Lord Aberdeen at first seemed to combat the notion that the young Queen must necessarily marry a Bourbon, and M. Pageot thought the conversation unsatisfactory. He afterwards saw Sir Robert Peel who said that the British Government would not use any influence against the wishes of King Louis-Philippe, and in a second interview with Lord Aberdeen His Lordship used the same language. M. Pageot is to be sent forthwith upon similar missions to the Courts of Berlin and Vienna.

March 30.—I am confidentially informed that the Chambers will be dissolved about May 15th and that the new elections will take place between June 25th and July 5th. The King is against the dissolution and wishes to continue the present Chamber for another session, but M. Guizot has insisted upon the expediency of not delaying the dissolution and expects to gain strength by the new elections.

The Spanish Chargé d'Affaires informed me yesterday that he had received instructions to state to M. Guizot the wish of the Regent of Spain to send M. Olozaga back to Paris in the capacity of Minister. M. Guizot answered that if M. Olozaga came to Paris he would not be received in that capacity, as after what had passed with respect to M. Salvandy the King had determined not to have any other diplomatic relation with the Government of Spain than those which existed at present.

April 2.—The Duke and Duchess of Orleans, as soon as the elections are over, will proceed on a Tour to the Southern Provinces of France, and will remain some days at Toulouse and at Marseilles. The Duchess is anxious to go to Algiers, but this will be opposed by the Government.

The King and his Ministers are much pre-occupied by the mission of M. Pageot to Vienna and the probable result of that mission. This mission has no other object than to endeavour to gain over Prince Metternich to the wishes of France respecting the Queen of Spain's marriage. The King wishes the Austrian Cabinet to act in concert with that of France for the purpose of uniting the Queen to the son of the Infant Don Carlos, and to acknowledge Isabella as Queen of Spain, which the Austrian Minister has hitherto declined to do. M. Pageot is at the same time instructed to declare to the Prince that France will never consent to the marriage of the Queen with any other than a Prince of the House of Bourbon—and that the French Government will, at no distant period, disclose to the Regent of Spain that they reserve to themselves the right of interference in the matter in order to arrive at the only arrangement to which they will give their assent. That the King having abandoned the idea of uniting his son to the Queen, had a right to expect a certain concession to his wishes and to the interests of France, and that the King was resolved, if driven to it, to make this a question of peace or war. M. Pageot

is to endeavour to create in the mind of Prince Metternich apprehensions that the peace of Europe may be endangered if he refuses to call upon the Powers to enter upon a negociation upon this subject. Should M. Pageot fail in prevailing upon Prince Metternich to adopt the ideas of the French Cabinet, the King and M. Guizot are resolved, immediately after the new elections shall have been completed, to address to the four Cabinets an ultimatum upon this question, supporting this step by an armament by sea and land.

The French Government believe that this is the moment the most favorable for carrying into execution their policy with respect to Spain, because England has enough upon her hands in India, in China and in her differences with the Government of the United States; the Continental Powers are not prepared for War and the Government of France are still sanguine in their expectations of finding in Spain a powerful Party ready to assist in overthrowing Espartero and his Government, and in establishing Queen Christina in the Regency.

The secret communication by letters is maintained by Queen Isabella and her sister on the one part, and Queen Christina and the Court of the Tuileries on the other, and every exertion is made to impress the two Princesses in Madrid with the necessity of their marrying Bourbon Princes.

April 5.—Louis-Philippe has many irons in the fire with a view to the promotion of his plans in Spain. He is not satisfied with M. Pageot's mission to Vienna, but M. Aguado,[1] who is now at Valladolid, is charged with a secret overture the object of which is to induce Espartero to enter into the views of France, to draw closer the ties between the two Governments, and not to enter into any Treaty with England which may be prejudicial to France. This overture will probably fail, and it is extraordinary that Louis-Philippe, while endeavouring to conciliate Espartero, should positively refuse to receive M. Olozaga as Minister at Paris, or to do more than keep a Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid, and allow an agent of the same rank to reside in Paris. I am credibly informed that Espartero has made overtures to the Court at Munich for a marriage between the third son of the King, and Queen Isabella, but that the

[1] *See* note, p. 230.

negociation had been suspended by the influence of Prince Metternich.

April 9.—Lady Cowley and I dined at Court. Had a conversation with the King after dinner. H.M. said: "Well, everything goes on well." I answered that I was very glad to hear His Majesty say so. He then said: "Oh you must not mind the paragraphs in our newspapers, all that animosity arises from jealousy and the effect of the Treaty of July 15th will soon subside; in the meanwhile it has no effect on my feelings and wishes nor upon those of my Government, which is to keep upon the best terms with England. The tranquillity of all Europe may depend on the maintenance of that good understanding. I hope you will settle your affairs with America amicably. I will do everything in my power to promote so desirable an end. As to the Slave Trade Treaty, I hope we shall come to some understanding upon that subject; had you allowed of some slight modifications it would before this time have been ratified by France." To this I replied that the feelings in England were so strong upon this subject that any modification of the original Treaty would have been highly disapproved. The King answered: "I fear that what you say is too true, but you know my situation, and you know that if I had ratified the Treaty after the discussion in the Chambers my Ministers must have resigned, and God only knows what might have been the consequences. We owe it to the present Government that we have narrowly escaped one war [with Russia], and it is for this reason principally that I am anxious to keep them in office."

April 20.—. . . M. Aguado[1] is certainly dead. There is no doubt that the object of his mission was to endeavour to bring about an understanding with Espartero, and also to gain over the young Queen and her sister to the project of marrying them to Bourbons. Another of his instructions was to endeavour to counteract us in our commercial projects. The King is now endeavouring to find some person to act in Aguado's place. This will not be an easy matter.

It is much to be feared that General Bugeaud will act for himself and may be ordered to enter the territory of Morocco—and it

[1] Spanish banker and at one time financial agent for Ferdinand VII in France.

is desirable that the British Counsul at Tangiers should be instructed to warn the Emperor of Morocco of the danger he incurs by affording protection to Abd-el-Kader.[1]

M. Mareschalchi is arrived from Vienna and has brought the first accounts of M. Pageot's reception there. Prince Metternich, it is said, has positively disclaimed having anything to do with the project of a marriage between the Queen of Spain and a Prince of Bavaria, and has stated that, in his opinion, she ought to marry a Prince of the House of Bourbon, and that the son of the Infant Don Carlos would be the best connection for her, but that further than giving his opinion as Prince Metternich he could not go. I believe that the King is by no means satisfied with the first report of M. Pageot's mission, though it is given out that he is.

May 8.—As the session is now drawing to a close it may be as well to say something of what has been passing in it. To begin with the Government, I believe its strength in point of view of numbers to be nearly what it was at the beginning of the session, but it has lost in point of character. M. Guizot has gained considerably in reputation as an orator, his speeches have generally been admitted to have been most able, though sometimes a little imprudent, as witness his disclosures of what passed between M. de St. Aulaire and Lord Aberdeen upon the subject of Algiers. Upon the question of the Slave Trade Treaty he spoke with great ability, notwithstanding the disastrous issue of that affair after it had been brought under discussion in the Chamber of Deputies, which it was not in his power to prevent. In the discussion of these questions he received but little assistance from his colleagues, none of whom, with the exception of M. Villemain, are considerable speakers, and many of whom are supposed to be adverse to the right of search. On the other hand it cannot be said that M. Guizot has gained in popularity. His manners are repulsive, and so little calculated to inspire confidence that he can scarcely be said to have a friend among his associates.

His measures likewise, particularly those against the Press, which have in many instances been successful, and in the prosecution

[1] The French had occupied Algiers since 1833, but had made little progress in extending their conquests up to 1841. During that year a vigorous campaign was undertaken by Bugeaud against the Arab leader, Abd-el-Kader, who was forced to take refuge in Morocco.

of which he has shown great firmness and decision, have made him many enemies, particularly among the journalists of Paris and those of the Interior. The Slave Trade Treaty against which the clamour is so general has likewise contributed to his unpopularity. His bitterest enemies are Thiers and Count Molé, the latter of whom, under the mask of conservatism, has been doing everything in his power to undermine him. The last speech, however, of Count Molé in the Chamber of Peers, as an attack on M. Guizot, was a complete failure, and has not added to the reputation of that Chamber. . . .

May 14.—I had yesterday a long conversation with the King at Neuilly. It began as usual by assurances of his anxious desire to maintain the most cordial relations with England. He then expressed his determination to do all in his power to maintain his present ministers in power, spoke of M. Guizot in high terms and said that he believed that the Government had lost nothing of its strength during the session—on the contrary he believed that it had rather gained than lost, notwithstanding the many difficult questions it had to contend with. He was in great hopes that the new elections would add to its strength and render the support in the Chamber of Deputies more compact than it had hitherto been.

H.M. then adverted to the affairs of Morocco, upon which I said that Lord Aberdeen had instructed Her Majesty's Consul at Tangiers to make a strong representation to the Emperor upon the danger to which he exposed himself by suffering Abd-el-Kader to recruit his forces within his territories. The King said that he knew Lord Aberdeen had instructed the Consul at Tangiers to make this representation to the Emperor and that he had no doubt of its beneficial consequences, indeed he believed that the Emperor was not at all disposed to assist Abd-el-Kader and that the resources he had been able to procure in Morocco were not sanctioned by him. That France had abstained from all hostile act against Morocco and would continue to do so, for it was the King's anxious wish to avoid everything which could create a misunderstanding with other powers, and particularly with Great Britain. He then turned the conversation to Spain and to the marriage of the young Queen—a subject upon which he had not spoken to me for some time past. He said that he thought the marriage of the Prince of Asturias with the Queen (Don Carlos

having previously abdicated) was the arrangement most likely to produce a strong Government in Spain. He thought, however, that Prince Metternich's suggestion that the Prince should take the title of King was quite impracticable. When he said that he preferred the Prince of Asturias to any other Bourbon Prince, he by no means meant to infer that he should object to any other Prince of the Bourbons.

What he required was that the Queen should marry a descendant of Philip the 5th; one of the sons of Don Francisco would meet with no objection from him, of the two he should prefer the eldest. Neither should he object to a Neapolitan Prince or to the son of the Duke of Lucca. All he meant to say was that of all the Princes of the Spanish line of Bourbons, the Prince of Asturias would in all respects be the most eligible with a view to the future interests and tranquillity of Spain. He repeated, however, that he should make no objection to a son of Don Francisco, and dwelt so much on this last idea that it occurred to me that H.M., seeing the obstacles which opposed themselves on all sides to the marriage of the Queen with a son of Don Carlos, would be glad to compound for her union with the son of Don Francisco. He observed that Queen Christina would not be opposed to such a union provided her sister Dona Carlotta was removed from the seat of the Government, where her influence could not be but baneful in all respects. His Majesty must be greatly deceived by Queen Christina if any credit is to be attached to Count Toreno's report to me of Her Majesty's present wishes respecting the marriage of her daughters.

All that the King said upon the subject of the marriages was occasionally interrupted by threats of his determination to go to War rather than suffer the Queen of Spain to contract any alliance excepting with a Prince of the House of Bourbon. He then talked of the interests of France and Great Britain in Spain, which ought never to clash. I observed that there was no necessity for their clashing, nor no necessity for the jealousy which prevailed respecting our influence in Spain, for that we were not at all opposed to the influence which France, as a powerful neighbour, ought to possess in Spain, and that we had no objects which need interfere with the exercise of that influence.

May 23.—There is bad news from Morocco—the Emperor refuses to comply with the requisitions of the French and to disarm.

May 25.—We had a grand ball yesterday in honour of the Queen's birthday, which went off very well.

June 3.—Accounts have been received from Bayonne stating that the Spanish Ministers of Finance and of the Marine Department have resigned, and that in the Cortes a vote had passed which was likely to be followed by the dissolution of the Ministry.

The French Government have taken it into their heads that Aston, having failed in his Commercial Treaty and in procuring the admission of cotton goods upon a lower duty, will either be recalled or being in a false position will resign his situation, and they have resolved to make an attempt to send an Ambassador to Spain. The plan is that the Ambassador shall present his letters to the Regent in the presence of the Queen—that he should immediately be presented to the Queen and make his speech which should be replied to by the Regent.

July 12.—The Government have gained nothing by the new elections. In Paris, out of the fourteen, they have only got two. This is a great triumph to the Opposition. M. Guizot is much disappointed but not dismayed. I doubt much his being able to maintain himself in power. All the questions pending with England have less chance than ever of being settled. . . . It is remarkable the animosity shown to England at most of the elections, especially as to the right of search, by candidates both Conservative and Radical.

July 14.—Yesterday the Duke of Orleans was killed by a fall from his open carriage. He had been visiting the fortifications of Paris, and was returning to the Tuileries with the intention of setting out for St. Omer's. The horses took fright and ran away with the carriage. The Prince jumped out, fell upon his head, was carried to a neighbouring house, and died three hours after the accident in the presence of the King and Queen, Madame Adelaide and others of the Royal Family. The King and Queen and the whole family are in the deepest affliction. The Duchesse de Nemours and the Princesse Clementine are gone to the Duchess of Orleans who is at Plombière, and will accompany her to Paris. Had the Duke continued in the carriage nothing would have hap-

Ferdinand Philippe Louis, Duc d'Orléans.

pened to him, as the Postillion was enabled to stop the horses a few minutes after H.R.H. had thrown himself out. The Chambers are summoned to meet on the 26th when the Regency will be settled. The Duc de Nemours will be Regent and the Duchess of Orleans guardian to her children.

July 28.—. . . M. Guizot spoke of the affairs of Spain. His last advices, he said, afforded but little hope of the stability of the new government. . . . He thought Espartero's position very precarious. He said that the Government of France was still willing to send an Ambassador to Spain. That they merely required that he should deliver his letters into the hands of the Queen who might immediately make them over to the Regent and retire or remain as she might think proper, and that all the work of the country might be carried on between the Regent and the Ambassador. I suspect there is some secret negociation going on in order to effect this.

M. Guizot then spoke of the proposed ordonnance for raising the duties upon linens and linen yarns. He said that it would be issued in the course of the ensuing week. They had not as yet been enabled to come to any understanding with Belgium and that the increased duty would therefore be levied upon Belgian linens until some arrangement could be effected. I asked him what the nature of the concessions were which were required of Belgium. He said he could not answer my question since nothing had been settled, but he thought that an arrangement with Belgium would afford facilities for the conclusion of a Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and France.

I answered that I thought this would now be more difficult than before, since by raising the duty upon our linens this had destroyed one of the stipulations which would have been advantageous to us, and how much better it would have been to have at once entered upon this Treaty and to have settled it according to the mutual interests of the two countries. He said he should have been glad to have delayed the affairs of the proposed ordonnance but that this was impossible on account of the approaching elections, and that any delay would have been most injurious to the Government as well as to himself personally. I said that the Gironde and the other vine-growing countries are much against this measure, and he admitted that this was the case. In the course of this

conversation he made the same observation which fell from the King when talking upon the subject, that upon an average our productions paid about 12½ per cent. upon importation into France while those of France paid nearly 50 per cent. upon entrance into England.

July 30.—A messenger arrived yesterday from Madrid. A correspondence has been discovered between the Secretary of Queen Christina and some Christina Generals upon the frontier and in Spain speaking of the union of the Carlists and Christinas—the object being to overthrow Espartero and to replace Queen Christina in the Regency. Some of the letters are preparing by Espartero for publication. Espartero says that the marriage of the son of Don Carlos with the Queen is out of the question and that the whole power of France would be insufficient to force the Spaniards to agree to it. . . . It is not likely that the Government will stand.

Prince Metternich has written a despatch highly approving of Guizot's conduct since he has been in office, and urging him to pursue his measures for modifying the Press and institutions of the interior, and engages that everything shall go right with respect to Foreign Affairs. At the same time M. Guizot must do nothing which can create dissatisfaction in England. This, however, is already done—witness the increased duties upon our linen and linen yarns.

The French Journals and the Public generally have already begun to speculate upon the consequences which are likely to ensue from the untimely end of H.R.H. the Duke of Orleans. Some think that it will give rise to fresh attempts on the life of the King, and that even in the course of nature His Majesty's life cannot be prolonged many years—that there is therefore every prospect of a long minority which, in the present unsettled state of the Kingdom, cannot be contemplated.

July 30.—Others are of opinion that the immediate consequences which may be looked for as resulting from that sad event, will be that it will tend to strengthen the hands of the Government, since all those who are anxious for the maintenance of tranquillity at home and abroad will rally round the Throne and give their support to the measures of the present administration. M. Guizot is himself, I believe, of this opinion.

August 10.—I have of late been very idle about my journal; indeed the melancholy death of the Duke of Orleans has suspended all business and has left little to write about. People's minds are occupied entirely with the question of the Regency, which is the only business which will be brought forward during the present session. It is intended that the Regency shall be established in the male line in regular succession, and to the exclusion of females. The Duchess of Orleans will therefore be excluded, at which she is most disappointed. The guardianship and education of her children is, however, to be reserved to her.

M. Thiers has promised the King to vote for the Regency in the male line. This will certainly be carried by the Government, and the Duc de Nemours, as being the eldest Prince, will succeed to the Regency in the event of the death of the King. The Royal Family are in the deepest affliction at the death of the Duke of Orleans. Nevertheless the King opened the session in person by a speech from the Throne, and a most distressing scene followed. Such was his emotion that I thought at one time that he could not have got through his speech.

I have this morning had an interview with M. Guizot at which many important subjects have been discussed. . . . In compliance with Lord Aberdeen's instructions I brought this subject [of a Treaty of Commerce] under the consideration of M. Guizot, by reading him a letter of the Board of Trade enclosed in Lord A.'s despatch of August 5th. After reading it I observed that M. Guizot had himself admitted that the Projet of this Treaty, which had already been submitted to the French Government, was advantageous to France and that the increase of duties upon British linens and linen yarns had lessened the advantages which we expected to derive from it—that nevertheless he could see from the letter which I had read to him that we were still desirous of making a commercial arrangement with France. M. Guizot replied: "I cannot discuss this question at present—you must give me a little time—but in the month of September I will take the subject into consideration with a sincere desire to bring it to a satisfactory conclusion." I observed that a Commercial Treaty, which he admitted to be advantageous to France, could not fail to be approved by all parties whether supporters of the Government or connected with the Opposition.

M. Guizot informed me that there was no truth in the report

that the French had sent an expedition to establish themselves upon some part of New Zealand.

August 25.—I saw Guizot to-day and communicated to him Lord Aberdeen's dispatch enclosing the reports from Mr. Mandeville relative to the War going on between Buenos Ayres and Montevideo. Guizot begged I would leave the papers with him, and in answer to my invitation to him to join with Great Britain in putting a stop to that warfare for which there did not appear to be any intelligible reason, he said that the French Government would be happy to join in any measures which we might judge advisable, and that he would send instructions to that effect to M. de Lurde, who was not yet arrived at Buenos Ayres and direct him to act in all things in concert with Mr. Mandeville.

August 30.—This Government, ever changing and never knowing their own mind from one day to another, are now desirous of a *rapprochement* with Russia. It has been reported to Guizot that the Emperor had said that if M. de Barante was sent back to St. Petersburg, the Emperor would, upon his arrival at that capital, send General Pahlen back to Paris. M. Guizot has now proposed, through M. de St. Aulaire, that the two Ambassadors, Barante and Pahlen, should meet at a given period at Berlin, and that they should depart from Berlin on the same day, the one for Paris, and the other for St. Petersburg.

M. Guizot is in the highest favour with the King. He is to pass most of his time at the Château d'Eu, where the King proposes to remain with his family until the middle of October. The King is to receive to-day the deputation from the Chamber of Peers charged to present to him the Regency Bill which has passed that Chamber. The Chambers will be prorogued to-day. Everything looks prosperously for the Government.

September 18.—I have reason to believe that there is much discontent in the Army owing to the severe discipline introduced by Marshal Soult. This has become so insupportable that the soldiers say that they would prefer the hardest labour rather than continue in the Army a month longer than the time prescribed by law. The measure most complained of by the soldiers is the rigorous surveillance which denies to them all possible communication

or contact with the public. The reading of the public newspapers is positively forbidden under pain of imprisonment. This prohibition is not confined to the barracks, but any soldier who is discovered by his officer reading a newspaper at a public house is severely punished. It is positively forbidden to any soldier when on duty to speak to a National Guard with whom he may be on duty. The soldiers in the garrison of Paris, whenever leave of absence is granted to them to go to their respective Provinces, are conducted by their sergeants to the Barrier, and are compelled to commence their journey forthwith, without remaining an instant in Paris; if they are afterwards seen in the town or the environs, they are severely punished. A route is likewise given to them from which they are ordered not to deviate. This is to prevent them from sojourning in large towns in the interior.

The death of the Duke of Orleans is much regretted in the Army because he was much more indulgent to the soldiers than it appears his brother, the Duc de Nemours, is disposed to be. It is apprehended that there is much dissatisfaction in the Army which would break out were anything to happen to Louis-Philippe, such is the unpopularity of the Duc de Nemours.

PARIS.—1843-1844

III

The Carlist War—Louis-Philippe renounces his declaration for the marriage with a Bourbon Prince—Metternich favours the son of Don Carlos—Visit of Queen Victoria—Louis-Philippe on the Spanish marriage—Green insurrection—Olozaga, the Spanish Minister—Metternich presses the marriage of Don Carlos' son—Panama—The Duc de Bordeaux—The Prince Trapani—M. Olozaga and the Queen of Spain—Queen Christina and the marriage of her daughter—The Duc de Bordeaux in London—Audience with Queen Christina—Question of her return to Spain—The French take possession of Tahiti—Mr. Pritchard—Don Carlos resigns his pretensions—Further disturbance in Spain—More Spanish marriage intrigues—Texas—The Prince de Joinville's pamphlet.

1843. *Diary.*—I am sorry to say that for the last twelvemonth I have entirely neglected my journal, although many events of importance have occurred during the period.

The attention of the Government has been principally occupied by the affairs of Spain. In the spring an insurrection broke out at Barcelona, which was principally fomented and encouraged from hence. Espartero very injudiciously bombarded the town, and this may be considered as the origin of all the intrigues and conspiracies which have at length brought about his downfall. Another insurrection broke out in June, fomented also from hence, and with much greater success than the first. It would probably not have succeeded had the Regent adopted proper measures to crush it—but instead of concentrating a large force either at Madrid or at Saragossa, he allowed his Army to be beat in detail or to be corrupted by the intrigues of the other party. His last great fault was the bombardment of Seville, which has made him odious to the whole country, and he had nothing for it but to take refuge on an English ship of war. There is now a Provisional Government at Madrid which has proclaimed that the Queen's majority is to be declared upon the meeting of the Cortes on October 15 next.

In the meanwhile Marshal Sebastiani has been sent to London to concert measures with our Government for restoring order in Spain. The King of the French renounces all pretensions to a marriage with a Bourbon Prince of the Spanish line. We refuse to interfere, on the ground that this is an affair the decision upon which belongs entirely to the Spanish Government and Nation. Upon all other questions a perfectly good understanding subsists between the two Governments. They have acted in strict concert in the Syrian and Servian affairs, as well as in those of Greece and also beyond seas in the disputes in the River Plate. Several conventions for the improvement of the postage, the regulation of the fisheries, the restoration of commerce, etc., have been concluded between the two countries, and were it not for the unjust and absurd prejudices of the French manufacturers, there would be no difficulty in arranging a Treaty of Commerce.

Another affair which has occupied much of the attention of the French Government, but which was strenuously opposed by all the other Great Powers, was the project of a Customs Union between France and Belgium, the ratification of which was impossible since it was contrary to Treaty. Nevertheless the project was very unwillingly given up by the two Sovereigns of France and Belgium—and it is certainly true that Belgium has at present no outlet for her manufactures.

This is a short and a very imperfect summary of the events of the last twelvemonth.

August 22.—Desages, the Chief Secretary, tells me that Sebastiani has been well received in England, and that his first conference with Lord Aberdeen is satisfactory.

August 24.—Count Apponyi tells me that Prince Metternich has written to him to say that in his opinion the son of Don Carlos is the only safe choice of a husband for the Queen of Spain, since it is the only choice which will preclude all intrigues and conspiracies in future. That if this should be approved by Great Britain and France, Austria is ready to take the initiative in proposing it to the Spanish Government. His Highness thinks there will be less difficulty in bringing the Spaniards to acquiesce in that measure than will be the case with Great Britain or France. I think otherwise. Such is the dislike of Don Carlos in Spain, that I do not believe the

Spaniards will ever consent to a marriage between his son and the Queen.

Espartero is arrived in England, and Sir Robert Peel has declared in Parliament his intention to countenance him. In my opinion, he said too much upon the subject—more than was necessary or prudent.

September 4.—Her Majesty Queen Victoria, having determined to visit the French Royal Family at the Château d'Eu, the King invited Lady Cowley and me to meet her. We accordingly left Neuilly on August 31, and slept at Granvilliers, and arrived on the following day at the Château d'Eu. On the 2nd the Queen's steam yacht hove in sight about five in the evening. The Royal Family, with their suite, immediately repaired to Trepont, where the Queen was to land, and the King, accompanied by his sons the Ducs d'Aumale and Montpensier, by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Marine, and by me, immediately embarked in his barge and proceeded to the Queen's yacht, who received him on board attended by her two ladies, Lady Canning and Miss Liddell, and by Lord Aberdeen and Lord Liverpool. After this first interview she embarked on the King's barge accompanied by Prince Albert, the King, etc., and was rowed on shore, where she was enthusiastically received by a large concourse of people. She was then received in a tent by the Queen of the French, the Queen of the Belgians, Madame Adelaide, the Princess Clementine, the Princess de Joinville, Lady Cowley, etc., and proceeded in the King's carriage to the Château d'Eu, where, upon arriving, she was again cordially cheered by the people assembled in great numbers, the military band playing "God save the Queen."

The day before Her Majesty's arrival I had a long conversation with the King upon the subject of Spanish affairs. He complained that people would impute to him the intention of marrying one of his sons to the Queen of Spain, and vehemently disclaimed any such design, which indeed he said would be equally disadvantageous to his son and to France. He then entered upon a review of the relations between France and Spain, from the time when Louis XIV accepted the succession of the Crown for his grandson, up to the present time, in order to shew that Spain had ever been a burthen to France. The War of the Succession had very nearly proved the ruin of France, although it had established Philip V upon the

Throne—and so little did France gain by this success, that two or three years afterwards a war broke out between the two countries in consequence of the conspiracy of the Prince de Cellamare. The next epoque was the conclusion of the Family Compact, but in all the wars which had succeeded in which the two States had been jointly concerned, France, at the peace, had been compelled to make great sacrifices for the purpose of obtaining compensation for the losses sustained by Spain. An alliance, therefore, with one of his sons would be disadvantageous to France, particularly in the present disturbed state of the country, with her finances fast approaching bankruptcy. But although he had no wish for a marriage with the Queen for a French Prince, it was essential to the interests and to the security of France that she should unite herself to a Bourbon Prince of the Spanish line, for it would not do to have her marry a German Prince, which would keep France in a state of perpetual anxiety. His Majesty then said that his great object was, and had always been, a strict union between France and Great Britain, but he hoped that object was now secured, and he entertained a confident expectation that this visit of the Queen would tend to cement that union.

September 7.—This day the Queen took leave of the King and Royal Family and re-embarked on board her yacht. The Royal Family accompanied her to Trepont, and the King conveyed her to her yacht. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the bay, which was full of ships with their yards manned. The Queen got under way about nine for Brighton, where she arrived on the same day about three.

September 15.—I went last night to St. Cloud, to pay my respects to the King and Queen. The King, after again expressing the great satisfaction which Her Majesty's visit to the Château d'Eu had afforded him, said that it had been viewed with dissatisfaction by some of the other Sovereigns, and that he supposed the Emperor of Russia was gone to Berlin to complain of it to the King of Prussia and to agree what measures it might be necessary to have recourse to in consequence. H.M. added that nothing should prevent his returning Her Majesty's visit in the course of the ensuing summer. I asked him if there was any article in the Constitution which rendered it necessary that His Majesty should

have the consent of the Chambers before leaving the country. He answered that there was nothing, but that it would not do for the King of the French to be too long absent from his country. His Majesty then turned the conversation to Spanish affairs, lamenting the present condition of that country and the weakness of the Government, which was not able to provide the means of putting down the first insurrection in Catalonia. There was, however, a prospect that the new elections to the Cortes would go off favorably and that the Government at Madrid would have a considerable majority. The King then talked of the marriage of the young Queen of Spain, and complained of the interference of Prince Metternich as likely to cause embarrassment. That the Prince was entirely in favour of the son of Don Carlos and wanted to force him upon the Spanish Government or to make the renewal of the diplomatic intercourse of the great Northern Powers with Spain conditional on her marriage with the son of Don Carlos, whom he chose always to designate as Prince of Asturias, which could not but be offensive to the Spaniards. For his part he believed that a Neapolitan Prince would be the best choice she could make, but that this was objected to by Prince Metternich, who did not choose that any individual of the Family of Naples or of Lucca should connect himself with Spain. He hoped, however, that the Prince would abandon the inconvenient course he had taken, and that the perfect understanding which now subsisted between the British and French Governments would bring this important matter to a satisfactory termination. His Majesty concluded by saying that as far as France was concerned he had no objection to the son of Don Carlos, provided he was the spontaneous choice of the Spanish Nation and Government, but that he would not lend himself to any declaration of the nature of that proposed by Prince Metternich.

September 22.—M. Olozaga is arrived at Paris. He was sent for by M. Guizot—and as he is entirely in the French interest, I suppose they will arrange between them the affairs of the Queen's majority and also of her marriage. I think, however, that the King and Guizot are pledged not to accept the marriage with one of the French princes, even if it were proposed. Lord Aberdeen and M. Guizot seem to be agreed that the best choice for the Queen will be the Comte d'Aquila, the brother of the King of Naples. In the meanwhile a fresh insurrection has broken out in Spain in

favour of a Central Junta, and seems to be gaining ground. The elections at Madrid are in favour of those opposed to the Government—and if the insurrection gains ground it seems unlikely that the elections can take place and that the Cortes can assemble. In that event neither the Queen's majority can be declared, nor can her marriage be settled.

September 23.—Intelligence has been received of a formidable insurrection taking place at Athens.

September 26.—The details respecting the Greek insurrection are arrived. Great concessions have been extorted from the King, and a National Assembly is to be called together for the purpose of framing a Constitution. The King told the Corps Diplomatique that if he were merely to consider his situation as a man, he should immediately abdicate, but that he had duties as a Sovereign which induced him to refrain from this step. General Colletti, the Greek Minister at this Court, is supposed to be the principal promoter of this insurrection, and, thinking it was too long delayed, he was preparing to return to Athens and had actually taken leave of the King, when the news arrived of the commotion having taken place, and of its results, and Colletti was urged to remain at Paris, with which he has complied.

M. Guizot is perfectly satisfied with his first interview with Olozaga. M. Guizot told him that there was no longer any jealousy between England and France about Spain, to which he answered: "If that is the case, Spain is saved." He attaches no importance to the insurrection in Catalonia, and thinks that the Government will have a large majority in the new Cortes. He has had an interview with Queen Christina, who talked to him much about her children, about their education, etc., but said not a word about the Queen's marriage. From that Olozaga augured that she had no confidence in him. He was of opinion that she ought not to be allowed to return to Spain—that her presence there would be productive of much mischief.

October 1.—I have had an interview with Olozaga, in which he repeated nearly what he had before said to M. Guizot. The Cortes, he said, are prohibited by law from interfering in the Queen's marriage until she has made her choice, which would of

course be approved if there was nothing to object to as being contrary to the interests of Spain. He thinks her marriage with Don Carlos' son to be quite out of the question—the Nation, he says, would not bear the return to Spain of one of that family. Prince Metternich, however, says that the renewal of the diplomatic relations between the three Northern Courts and Spain must depend upon the Queen's marriage with the son of Don Carlos. His Highness objects to any connection between the Neapolitan family and Spain as likely to involve Italy in trouble. There only remains, then, the son of Don Francisco, if the Queen is to marry a Prince of the Spanish Bourbon line.

October 6.—They are much alarmed at Vienna on account of the revolution in Greece, as they are apprehensive it may spread to the Turkish Provinces, and even to the Neapolitan territory, and to other parts of Italy, always ready for revolt.

October 17.—I have seen a private letter from Prince Metternich, in which he gives it as his opinion that nothing can pacify Spain but the marriage of the Queen with the eldest son of the Infant Don Carlos, and the restoration of her intercourse with other States by the renewal of her diplomatic intercourse with the three Great Northern Powers. That these Continental Powers will not renew their relations with Spain should the Queen form any other alliance, since this is the only one which can restore the legitimate order of the succession and which can give anything like stability to the Throne and Government. His Highness proceeds to state that M. Guizot has done wrong in uniting himself solely to England, and in separating himself upon this question of the marriage from the great Continental Powers.

There is much, I think, of pique and of wounded self-love in the remarks contained in this letter, and it also betrays great ignorance of the public feeling in Spain. Don Carlos and the whole of his family is so unpopular that any attempt to unite one of his sons to the Queen would not only be rejected by the Cortes, but would probably occasion an insurrection throughout the country. It is surprising that Prince Metternich should not feel that so long as the intercourse between Spain and the Northern Courts continues to be suspended, it is in vain to hope that those Courts can have any influence upon the question of the Queen's marriage. If

Prince Metternich thinks it of importance to re-establish that influence, the best course he could pursue would be to avail himself of the approaching declaration of the Queen's majority in order to renew the diplomatic relations of the three Northern Courts with Spain; Russia and Prussia, as he says, being entirely at his disposal in this question. Had these Courts representatives at Madrid, they would be in a situation to ascertain how far the marriage they have in view is practicable, and if practicable their influence on the spot would be more effectual towards promoting it than the line of conduct which, according to the letter which has been communicated to me, Prince Metternich has resolved to pursue.

November 5.—The French are much occupied about the Isthmus of Panama.[1] They have sent an engineer to examine the surveys which have already been made for a canal, and these reports say that there are coal mines in the neighbourhood of Panama which will facilitate the navigation by steam. I have called the attention of Her Majesty's Government to this subject.

This Government is not pleased at the visit of the Duc de Bordeaux[2] to England. Several of his adherents are gone to London to meet him, to the amount of fifty. I suppose our Government will not allow of his continuance in London for any length of time.

November 8.—I had last night a long conference with the King at St. Cloud. H.M. seems to be greatly disturbed at the Duc de Bordeaux's visit to England. He said that had the Duke confined himself to a visit to Her Majesty like other individuals of rank and consideration, he should have been the last person to make any objection to any civilities Her Majesty might have been disposed to shew him. But that he was about to establish himself in London for the purpose of receiving those of his adherents who chose to visit him—that is, those who were disaffected to his Dynasty and to the present order of things in France, and that he had written with his own hand to many of them (among others to M. de Chateaubriand) inviting them to repair to London. This I believe to be

[1] Lesseps had promised the opening of the Canal in 1890, but it did not take place until 1914.

[2] Son of the Duc de Berry and grandson of Charles X. He assumed the title of Comte de Chambord.

true, as the Duc de Grammont told me yesterday that he should not go, not having been invited.

The King continued that more than a hundred and fifty passports had been granted to persons to go to England, that the Duke's residence would be a complete focus of intrigue against him, and that under such circumstances it was of the utmost importance that no countenance should be afforded to him by Her Majesty or Her Majesty's Government. That any attention paid to him would have the effect of raising the hopes of his Party, and would, on the other hand, afford grounds for the greater part of the Nation, satisfied with the present order of things, to inveigh against Her Majesty's Government for affording encouragement to the plots and intrigues of the Legitimists. The King was evidently much excited upon this subject, and returned to it again after conversing for some time upon the affairs of Spain and of Greece.

November 11.—Intelligence was received to-day from Madrid of an attempt to assassinate General Narvaez upon his way to the theatre in a carriage. The General escaped, but his aide-de-camp was killed by his side.

The Queen's majority has been declared, only sixteen deputies voting against it.

November 14.—Queen Victoria has signified her intention not to receive the Duc de Bordeaux. More than five hundred passports have been given to persons who propose to wait upon him in London.

November 22.—I called upon M. Guizot this morning for the purpose of inquiring whether there was any truth in the report sent from Naples by Mr. Temple that the King's youngest brother, the Prince Trapani, was coming to Paris to accompany Queen Christina to Madrid and to marry Queen Isabella. M. Guizot said there was no truth in the report of his coming to Paris, that with respect to the marriage, he believed that the King wished that one of his brothers should marry the young Queen, but that he had desired the Duc de Montebello to impress upon His Majesty that previous to any proposal of the kind being made at Madrid, he should acknowledge the present order of things in Spain. That for his part, he should be very glad if the marriage could be brought

about, as it was much more desirable than a marriage with the Infant Don Francisco, since the removal of Dona Carlota must be a preliminary to that union. That he believed the Prince de Cellamare, M. Carini and others had been sent to Rome to sound the Comte de Trapani as to his disposition to contract this alliance. That with regard to Queen Christina's return to Madrid, he had invariably opposed it until the period of her daughter's marriage, when of course it would be proper that she should be present at the ceremony.

November 25.—Letters of the 22nd from Madrid announce that on the 21st M. Olozaga accepted the Presidency of the Council and the commission to form a new Government.

December 2.—A telegraphic despatch from Madrid of the 30th brings the extraordinary intelligence that M. Olozaga had, by "force and violence," obtained from the Queen a Decree for the dissolution of the Cortes. That Her Majesty in consequence, on the night of the 29th, sent for the President and Vice-President of the Cortes, to consult them upon this proceeding of M. Olozaga, and that they had advised that he should immediately be removed from his offices. That the Queen acquiescing in their advice, a decree was passed accordingly, and that General Serrano is now supposed to be at the head of the Government.

It is impossible to understand the motives of this extraordinary proceeding on the part of Olozaga, which, had it taken effect, would have set Spain in a flame. But the removal of Olozaga is very unfortunate, particularly with reference to the projects of marriage for the Queen. The public feeling in Madrid is in a high state of irritation, and it does not seem that the declaration of the Queen's majority is likely to be attended with any beneficial effect.

December 5.—Everything is in confusion at Madrid. The Queen's declaration that violence was used by Olozaga to compel her to sign the Decree for the dissolution of the Cortes has been submitted to a Committee, and it is supposed that it will go hard with Olozaga. There is much mystery attending this transaction. On the 28th Olozaga obtained, whether by violence or not, the Queen's signature to the Decree. Twenty-four hours afterwards the Queen summoned the President of the Cortes, and in consequence

of her representations, Olozaga was deprived of his offices. On the 30th, Olozaga obtained a paper signed by the Queen and countersigned by Serrano, stating that the Decree had not been extorted from her—and on December 1, Her Majesty's declaration of violence having been resorted to, was submitted to the Cortes. Olozaga's account of the transaction is as follows: That he waited upon the Queen at four o'clock on November 28, and he obtained her signature to the Decree without any kind of difficulty or objection on her part—that he was going away when she called him back and said she would give him some bonbons for his child. There is a secret history attending this affair. Olozaga is stated to be violently in love with the Queen who, on her part, is in love with Serrano. This occasions a rivalry between the two, and as their feelings towards the Queen are known to both, the paper given to Olozaga signed by the Queen and Serrano may in some measure be accredited. As to the Decree itself, Olozaga says he obtained it not intending to make use of it unless it should be absolutely necessary, but that he was aware of a plot of the Moderados to overturn the Constitution and to declare the Queen absolute. That this would infallibly produce a civil war in the country, and that it was to prevent this that he proposed, if necessary, to make use of the Decree.

December 13.—The French Government appear to have abandoned Olozaga without waiting for the result of the proceedings of the Cortes in consequence of the declaration of the Queen. It must be admitted that in his account of the transaction he has not made out a good case for himself. Still, considering the very distinguished way in which he was received by the King and by M. Guizot upon his last visit to Paris, that he was entrusted with all their views on Spain, particularly with relation to the Queen of Spain's marriage, which he pledged himself to promote as far as might be in his power, it is not quite fair or consistent with justice to abandon him before he is condemned. Yet this is characteristic of French policy in most cases, but especially in regard to Spain. Upon the retirement of Queen Christina, they first endeavoured to overturn Espartero, and this failing, they courted him in the hope of bringing him into their view with respect to the Queen's marriage, and also to detach him from England. Finding him indisposed to listen to their overtures, they again intrigued against

him, and contributed much to his downfall. They next took up Olozaga, and have abandoned him with the same lightness and inconsistency. . . . They have it also in mind to send back Queen Christina to Madrid. It will be lucky if all these proceedings do not produce Civil War in the country.

Bulwer[1] called to-day upon Queen Christina, who told him, that no credit had ever been given to her sincerity when she expressed her wish that her daughter should be married either to the Duc d'Aumale or to a Prince of the House of Coburg. That her marriage with a French Prince was out of the question, but that she still wished for a Prince of Coburg. Bulwer told her that it had been agreed between the Governments of Great Britain and France that a marriage with a descendant of Philip the 5th would be the most desirable. He then mentioned a Neapolitan Prince and she said that she knew nothing of the objects of Prince Carini's[2] mission to Madrid, excepting what she read in the newspapers. She said not a word respecting her own journey to Madrid, and I am inclined to doubt whether in the present state of Spain she will like to incur the hazards of such a journey.

December 14.—It appears that the state in which Prince Carini found things at Madrid have induced him to suspend his communications with the Spanish Government, and to apply for further instructions from his Court as to whether they would choose, under the present circumstances, to acknowledge Queen Isabella and to make the proposal of marriage. M. Guizot very much disapproves the conduct of Prince Carini, and has sent instructions to the Duc de Montbello directing him to urge the Neapolitan Government to send instructions without a moment's delay to Prince Carini ordering him to proceed in the objects of his mission. . . .

December 16.—M. de Bresson[3] has prevailed upon Prince Carini to present his credentials.

I had last night a conversation with the King at St. Cloud. His Majesty began by expressing his grateful sense of the conduct of Her Majesty and of Her Majesty's Government with respect to

[1] Now British Representative at Madrid.
[2] Appointed Neapolitan Minister at Madrid.
[3] French Representative at Madrid.

the proceedings of the Duc de Bordeaux in London, of which he spoke in terms of great dissatisfaction.

I observed that it appeared to me that too much importance was attached to these proceedings, as many of those who had been in London had returned to Paris more impressed by the absurdity and ridicule of what was going forward in Belgrave Square than with any importance that His Majesty's cause in France might derive from it. The King said that he entertained no apprehension that these proceedings would be in any way prejudicial to him and to his dynasty, but that they betrayed the insolence and the recklessness of the Party and occasioned much excitement in the public mind. The King added that upon the return of the Duke from his visit to Badminton, cries of " Vive le Roi ! " had been heard in Belgrave Square.

The King then turned the conversation to the affairs of Spain, which he considered to be in a deplorable condition. The Queen's immediate marriage was of the utmost importance. The affair of Olozaga had done her great mischief, for it was necessary that a Queen of Spain should be, like Cæsar's wife, *sans tache*. The opinion of all parties seemed to be in favour of the return of Queen Christina in order to take charge of her daughter, but he doubted whether the Queen would choose to risk herself in Spain in the present disturbed state of that country. Notwithstanding what His Majesty said, I believe his wish to be that Queen Christina should proceed without delay to Madrid.

December 23.—Great confusion prevails at Madrid. Gonzales, Braco and Serrano have given each other the lie in the Cortes. Olozaga has disappeared and is supposed to have left Madrid, and Guizot thinks it not unlikely that he will come to Paris. Queen Christina, though invited to return to Madrid, by the advice of the King and Guizot, and at the suggestion of Lord Aberdeen, has declined going there for the present. Prince Carini has presented his credentials as Neapolitan Minister at Madrid, and has touched upon the subject of the marriage of Count Trapani with the Queen. The idea was not ill received.

Bresson left Paris on the 21st for Madrid.

January 4, 1844.—The Spanish Government have suspended the Cortes. This seems to have been unnecessary, as they had a majority in that assembly. But they could not bear the harassing

questions which were daily put to them by the Opposition, and they had recourse to this measure in order to get rid of this annoyance.

The trial of Olozaga has been given up, and a Decree passed depriving him of all his powers and declaring him incapable of serving the State in any capacity whatever.

In consequence of the present state of our relations with Spain, I thought it right to take the opportunity of the New Year to leave my name at the residence of Queen Christina. Her Majesty, on the following day, sent to express her wish that Lady Cowley and I would wait upon her, and we accordingly waited upon her yesterday. She received us with great kindness and began by inquiring after Her Majesty's health, saying that she should ever retain a most grateful sense of the kind consideration with which she had been treated by Her Majesty when Regent of Spain. The Queen then asked me what were the opinions of Her Majesty's Government respecting her return to Spain, adding that she should be unwilling to take any step which was not approved by our Government, that she looked upon the protection of England and of France also, and their cordial union, as most important to Spain and to herself. I replied that I believed Her Majesty had already been informed that her return to Madrid in the present unsettled state of the country, owing to the suspension of the Cortes, was not advisable, since it would place her in a false position, render her an object of suspicion, and that her presence at Madrid under such circumstances could be of no advantage to Queen Isabella. That were things in a more settled state, certainly her presence at Madrid would be highly advantageous, and that it appeared to me not unlikely that upon the reassembling of the Cortes she might be invited by that body to repair to Madrid. She answered "that indeed would be very desirable, but do you think it likely to happen?" I said I saw no reason to doubt it, and that Her Majesty could then undertake her journey under much more advantageous circumstances—that it would be disagreeable to Her Majesty to undertake such a journey in the depths of winter. She answered: "Oh, as to that, when the welfare of my child is in question I shall think nothing of a journey in winter, but I am advised to act in accordance with the wishes of your Government and that of France. Observe that I have no intention of fixing my residence in Spain—I should go there and come away again as soon as I saw my daughter happily established. I might make her occasional visits, but I expect

that nothing could induce me to fix my residence in that country."

Her Majesty then asked what were the opinions of my Government concerning the Queen Isabella's marriage. I answered that Her Majesty's Government had invariably acted upon the principle that this was a question the decision upon which belonged exclusively to Spain—that I understood there was an alliance now in contemplation which, if it were approved by the Queen and her advisers, H.M.'s Government would make no objection—I meant her union with a Neapolitan Prince. The Queen said that nothing had yet been decided upon that subject, and that she had heard that a Neapolitan alliance was not popular in Spain. Nothing further passed at this interview, at which it appeared to me to be Her Majesty's object to impress upon us the great importance which she attached to the establishment of a good understanding between the Government of her daughter, Queen Isabella, and that of Her Majesty. It would almost appear, indeed, that she meant to shew that this, in her opinion, would be more advantageous to her daughter's Government than the establishment of intimate relations with France.

January 31.—Martinez de la Rosa, the French Ambassador, has been with me to-day. He attaches the greatest importance to the immediate return of Queen Christina. He says she has received letters and deputations from all those parts of Spain which lie in her route, inviting her to pass through the towns. That her return is the only thing that can give form and respectability to the Government. As to the marriage, he is for putting it off—nobody thought of it at Madrid, and Rivas [1] had no instructions upon the subject. The King and Guizot had never spoken upon it to him.

February 6.—I have received a despatch from Lord Aberdeen desiring me again to express the disapprobation of the British Government of the return of Queen Christina to Spain, and enclosing a despatch from Bulwer, which I am desired to show to Guizot. Now, if I do show this despatch it will entirely destroy Bulwer's position at Madrid so far as relates to any confidence being placed in him by this Government, as was the case with Aston, who was always suspected here of undermining French interests at Madrid.

[1] Spanish diplomatist and writer. Ambassador at Naples.

Bulwer is already suspected of favouring the Progressives, though I am persuaded he is pursuing the only course which a British Minister under the present circumstances of Spain ought to follow, that of a calm but vigilant observer of what is happening, ready to avail himself of any opportunity for his interference or advice without occasioning jealousy or suspicion of his motives. I have resolved, therefore, not to show this despatch to M. Guizot, but to use the arguments contained in it as well as in Lord Aberdeen's despatch in order to endeavour to prevail upon the French Government to see this matter in the same light with ourselves—not that I think that it signifies one farthing whether Queen Christina goes in a week or in a month. If she consents to delay her departure at our suggestion, something is sure to happen in the course of a few days to induce her to resume her intention of going.

Upon second thoughts I have thought it to be better to comply with Lord Aberdeen's instructions and to communicate Bulwer's despatch to M. Guizot. After reading it with attention he said there was more in it in favour than against Queen Christina's going to Madrid. That so convinced was the French Government of the very great importance of her presence at Madrid that he really could not take upon himself to oppose any obstacle to her departure. That Mr. Bulwer was quite wrong in supposing that the Neapolitan marriage was their only motive for desiring the presence of the Queen Mother in the Spanish capital. That their principal object was the establishment of something like a Government, which could only be done by the Queen Mother. That as to the Neapolitan marriage that was quite a secondary consideration, though as long as there was a possibility of effecting it the French Government was certainly bound not to abandon the King of Naples, who had acknowledged Queen Isabella in the expectation that this marriage would take place. It would be for Queen Christina to judge of this after her arrival at Madrid, and if she saw that the marriage was inadvisable on account of its unpopularity, the King had not the least objection to the Duc de Cadiz, and that marriage would be greatly facilitated by the death of Dona Carlota. M. Guizot then said: "I hope you have known me long and intimately enough to be convinced that I am always *de bonne foi* and that I have no *arrière pensée* in anything I say to you. Our objects in Spain are the same as yours, and I repeat that Bulwer is greatly mistaken in supposing that our anxiety for

the Queen's departure arises solely from the desire to promote the Queen's marriage."

February 10.—I am just come from an audience of Queen Christina, having been instructed by Lord Aberdeen to intimate to Her Majesty that in consequence of a late despatch from Mr. Bulwer saying he had less apprehensions respecting Queen Christina's journey to Madrid, the British Government did not wish in any manner to curtail her movements. . . .

The Queen desired me to assure Her Majesty's Government of the grateful sense she entertained of their kind consideration for her, of her unwillingness to take any step which had not their approval and of the satisfaction which my communication afforded her. With respect to Queen Isabella's marriage, she thought the eaisest course to pursue would be to let the matter rest for the present, as well on account of the Queen's age as for other reasons. As to the intention imputed to her of endeavouring to place matters as they stood previous to the revolution, she positively disclaimed any such intention or any design of altering the Constitution as it now stood. She was of opinion that the re-assembling of the Cortes would be an advisable measure, but that, for her own part, she wished to avoid any interference in public affairs.

I answered that once established at Madrid, it would be very difficult for Her Majesty to avoid concerning herself in public matters, nor indeed after the sentiments she had just expressed, was it to be wished she should. She answered: "If your Government and that of France thought I could be of any use I should of course bow to their opinion. But God preserve us from any fresh revolutions; there is certainly, as you must be aware, much to find fault with in the present constitution, but this is not a time to attempt to amend it. My principal object in undertaking this journey is to be useful to my daughter."

February 15.—Queen Christina left Paris to-day. She takes with her the three daughters of Don Francisco, who were left in a French convent for their education.

February 16.—Intelligence has been received that an insurrection has broken out in Portugal. It is of a military character and likely to be serious.

Don Ramon Maria Narvaez. Duque de Valencia.

February 20.—Accounts have been received that Admiral Dupetit Thouars has taken military possession of Tahiti, on November 6, 1843.[1] Captain Tucker, commanding the British forces in the harbour, has solemnly protested in the name of our Queen against this assumption. M. Guizot is much disturbed by this intelligence, which is likely to produce some disagreeable discussions between the two Governments.

February 22.—A messenger arrived yesterday bringing despatches from Bulwer, of the 13th. He is now as anxious for the arrival of Queen Christina as he was before against it. There seems to be reason to apprehend the ambitious designs of Narvaez,[2] and the Government is in a dilemma on account of their arbitrary and violent proceedings which are generally disapproved. . . . If Queen Christina acts discreetly she may do much good by measures of lenity, and by trying to reconcile parties; but she must not attempt to alter the Constitution—a design of which she is suspected. If she acts up to her assurances to me, she may do much good. It seems that Bresson will not act in concert with Bulwer, and I fear that the "entente cordiale" will not long subsist between them. . . . Our Foreign Office, instead of sending to Bulwer the report of my conversation with Queen Christina, chose to send Lord Aberdeen's instruction to me to see her, and a report from Lord W. Hervey[3] of a previous conversation he had had with her at my desire. Luckily I apprised Bulwer in a private letter of the purport of my conversation with her, and of the assurance which she gave me of her intentions when she arrived at Madrid, which are very satisfactory and essential for him to know.

February 24.—I had yesterday a conference with Guizot on the assumption of Otaheite, by Admiral Dupetit Thouars—the result of which was that the sovereignty would be allowed to the Queen

[1] In 1836, Queen Pomaré of Tahiti had refused the opening of a mission by French Catholics. In 1838 Admiral Dupetit Thouars extorted from her the right of settlement for Frenchmen. In 1842 he procured the signature of a document placing the islands under French protection, and in 1843, alleging that this treaty had not been carried out, he deposed the Queen and took possession of the islands.

[2] Ramon Maria Narvaez, Spanish statesman and general. Served against the Carlists, landed at Valencia in the interests of Queen Christina in 1843, was Premier for various periods between 1844 and 1868.

[3] First Secretary of Embassy at Paris; third son of the Marquis of Bristol. In 1844 he wrote a pamphlet on the *Spanish Marriages*, which Lord John Russell considered very indiscreet and refused to allow to be published.

[Pomaré] but that the French expected to be confirmed in the Protectorate. M. Guizot said that the Queen's refusal to abide by the terms of the Treaty of 1842 is entirely owing to the intrigues of Mr. Pritchard, the British Consul, and of Captain Nicholas, and that he thought that there would be no security against these intrigues so long as Mr. Pritchard held the situation of Consul, and that he was convinced that when Lord Aberdeen had read the papers connected with the late transaction he would be of the same opinion.

Don Carlos has offered, through Lord Randolph, to abdicate the throne of Spain upon condition of his son marrying the young Queen, but he has not said whether upon equal terms or as other candidates who have proposed for the hand of Her Majesty.

March 27.—Having heard that King Louis-Philippe was much irritated at the Infant Don Carlos not having apprised him of his readiness to resign the throne upon condition of his son's marrying the young Queen of Spain, I went last night to the Tuileries with intention of making an occasion of explaining to His Majesty the course which had been adopted by Her Majesty's Government in this affair. An opportunity was afforded me by His Majesty taking me into another room when I read to him Lord Aberdeen's despatch of the 22nd, with the enclosures: being a letter of Don Carlos, addressed to his Lordship, and his reply. The King, after these papers had been read to him, expressed his full approbation of Lord Aberdeen's answer to Don Carlos's letter, but also expressed great displeasure at the neglect of the Infant in not having apprised him of his proposal and communication which he ought to have made, as well on account of the circumstances in which he stood with France as of his relationship with the King—and that he was the more entitled to this mark of the Infant's confidence because he had twice within the last two or three years advised the Infant to abdicate the throne with the view of uniting his son to the Queen. That I must recollect that he had always been of opinion that a union with the elder branch of the family was the one which was in all respects the most eligible and the most likely to secure the tranquillity of the country.

I observed that if Don Carlos had been personally known to His Majesty he would not be surprised at any omission of this kind, which was probably unintentional, and that he had probably

availed himself of Lord R. without reflecting that he ought to have made the same communication to the French Government. The King answered that he was well aware of his character from the report of M. de Talleyrand, but that he had reason to believe that he had lately connected himself with the Legitimist Party in France. The King then adverting to the subject of the Queen's marriage, said that he was not aware that any formal proposal for the Queen's hand on the part of the Comte Trapani had been made by Prince Carini, that he had left this affair in the hands of Queen Christina, who would, after her arrival at Madrid, decide whether that negociation should be persevered in or abandoned. That he believed Queen Christina to be favourable to a Neapolitan connection, but if she found it to be unpopular in Spain she would certainly not persevere in it.

March 31.—Bresson and Bulwer both write word that the Queen Christina was very ill received at Madrid. Bulwer says that there was not one *viva*. This is a bad symptom. Bresson says in his report that it has been determined, with a view of giving stability to the present Government, to govern the country for some time longer by Royal Decrees, after which to dissolve the Cortes and to summon another which will probably make no difficulty in passing a Bill of Indemnity for all their unconstitutional acts.

April 16.—We dined yesterday at Court. Bulwer's despatches, which arrived last night, give an unfavourable account of the state of things in Spain. It is evident that the French are working for their own ends and that Bresson is not at all inclined to join Bulwer in recommending any measures having for their object the good of the country. . . .

I think that Bulwer is far too lenient in his opinion of Bresson. I am persuaded that Bresson will never act cordially with him for the good of the country. His object is to avail himself of the present ascendancy of France to obtain commercial concessions and personal favour for himself. He has already obtained the Order of Charles III, and this will probably be followed by the Golden Fleece when, if I am not mistaken, he will take his leave of Madrid. In all this, I am sorry to say, he is supported by his Government. Grand Crosses of the Legion of Honour have been lavishly bestowed upon persons utterly unworthy of such a

distinction. Some of Guizot's colleagues objected to this, but he answered that the commercial and political advantages which France would obtain from Spain were well worth a few Grand Crosses. . . .

Bulwer, seeing that he cannot prevail upon Bresson to join him in any measures having for their object the improvement of the country, has determined to withdraw himself altogether from interfering in politics, and to attend merely to the interests of Great Britain, and in everything relating to those he meets with no difficulty. I believe he is pursuing the only course which a British Minister ought to follow under the circumstances in which he is placed. I have no doubt that there will be a violent convulsion sooner or later. The French are playing a desperate game, and will repent it when too late.

April 27.—We dined yesterday at the Tuileries. The King spoke to me of the state of affairs in Spain which gave him much uneasiness. He disapproved of the projected journey of the Queen to the baths at Caldas. I said that the irruption which had broken out upon Her Majesty required the use of baths. He said that her absence, and that of the Queen Mother, from the Capital at the present moment, when affairs were in so unsettled a state, might be attended with serious consequences. That he did not at all approve of the way things were going on at Madrid—that the Cortes ought to be assembled without loss of time and the Constitutional system resumed. I said that I was very glad to hear that these were His Majesty's sentiments and that it was much to be regretted that the Queen Mother had not, when she first arrived at Madrid, recommended the convocation of the Cortes and a return to the constitutional system. . . . I understand that M. Villenza is uneasy at the present state of affairs in Spain and approves of none of the marriages in contemplation for the Queen. All this induces me to believe that we shall hear of some overtures of a marriage with one of the sons of the King of the French.

April 30.—Bulwer writes word that there was a project to which Bresson was a party, of carrying the Queen Isabella to Barcelona, where the Count Trapani was to meet her. This would be a very unpopular act, and it may be doubted whether the Court will venture upon it. There is likely to be a partial change

in the Spanish Government—but nothing can be worse than the appearance of things in Spain.

May 4.—A telegraphic despatch announces the resignation of the Spanish Government and the order of the Queen to General Narvaez to form a new Government, of which Miraflores is to be a member.

May 12.—I went last night to the Tuileries, and the King, after expressing how much he and his family had been gratified by the visit of Her Highness the Duchess of Kent, turned the conversation to the affairs of Spain. . . . I asked His Majesty if anything had been settled respecting the young Queen's journey to the baths. He answered that the Queen Mother had been written to pointing out the danger of removing the Court from the Capital at the present moment. That Her Majesty had in consequence again consulted the physicians as to the possibility of the Queen's drinking the waters at Madrid, or proceeding to some baths nearer to the Capital, and they answered that the waters would lose half their efficacy if not drunk upon the spot, and that from the nature of the Queen's disorder no waters in Spain would be near so efficacious as those of Caldas. His Majesty did not believe, however, that any decision had as yet been taken with respect to the journey.

I am just come from Guizot, who read me a private letter from Bresson, of May 4, in which he states that Narvaez, at a conference with Queen Christina, proposed to make several reforms in the Constitution of Royal Decrees. The Queen asked him whether he was sure of the Army, and he answered that he would answer for its fidelity. "In that case," said the Queen, "let us take the more moderate line, let us wait the convocation of the Cortes after the new elections, and let them make the alterations in the Cortes which may appear to be necessary."

Mou,[1] it would appear, is quite against any such projects as those proposed by Narvaez, saying that he should be sorry to be reproached hereafter by the Court of the Tuileries for having contributed to the exile of the young Queen.

May 14.—I learn from good authority that this Court have a double marriage in view with the Court of Naples—first the marriage

[1] Minister of Finance.

of the Count Trapani with the Queen of Spain, and secondly the marriage of the Duc d'Aumale[1] with a Neapolitan princess. This accounts to me for the glee with which M. Guizot lately announced to me the failure of the overtures of the Duc de Bordeaux for a marriage with a Princess of Naples.

May 15.—A person calling himself Colonel Pax called upon me to-day and told me that the Carlists were about to commence operations in Spain, and that he was charged with a letter from Don Carlos to Cabrera,[2] who is at Lyons directing him to enter Spain with all the forces he could collect without delay. That a Council had been held at Bourges to determine whether the pretensions of the son of Don Carlos to the hand of Queen Isabella should be supported by hostile measures or by negociations, and that the Council had determined upon having recourse to arms. That he, the Agent, was in favour of negociation, being convinced that an attempt at insurrection would fail, and would cause much bloodshed. He therefore was prepared, upon certain conditions, to put it in my power to stop the insurrection. These conditions at last resolved themselves to a pecuniary consideration, and after the interview, being convinced that the Agent was an adventurer, I declined having anything to say to him.

May 18.—I had a conversation with Guizot yesterday upon the project of uniting Texas to the United States. He said he was always opposed to this encroaching policy of the American Government. That he did not think this was a question to go to war upon, but that Great Britain and France might refuse to recognise the annexation of Texas to the Union. I think he will acquiesce in any determination which may be taken by the British Government upon this matter.

The Prince de Joinville[3] has published a pamphlet in which he recommends a great increase of war steamers in order to enable France to cope with England at sea. He says that by that means France will be able to invade our shores, to annoy our trade, and to destroy the confidence of our people on account of our insular

[1] Fourth son of Louis-Philippe.

[2] Spanish general on the side of Don Carlos. After Espartero's triumph he retired to England, where he spent the rest of his life.

[3] Third son of Louis-Philippe.

situation. He likewise says that if the events of 1840 had led to a war, our fleet in the Mediterranean would have been destroyed by that of France, though in all probability that success would have been followed by severe reverses. This pamphlet is making a great noise, and will be made use of by the Opposition, to the annoyance of the Government. It is said that the King is doing what he can to suppress the pamphlet.

May 19.—The Prince de Joinville's Pamphlet is making a great and mischievous sensation here. The King and the Ministers are much annoyed at it, not only on account of the hostile feeling it betrays towards England, but because it lays open the weakness of the French Naval Establishment, and will probably give rise to some attacks upon the Government in the Chamber of Deputies. M. Guizot expects that the Tahiti question will be revived in the course of the coming week. The Prince de Joinville has taken up the cause of Admiral Dupetit Thouars with much warmth and indiscretion.

May 26.—The attention of the Public continues to be occupied with the Prince de Joinville's pamphlet. It is not true that he derived any assistance in its composition from Thiers or from any other person. The whole is from his own pen. He shewed it, when finished, to the Duc de Nemours, who suggested some alterations, but neither the Duke nor any of those to whom he communicated it before sending it to the Press had any idea that he intended to publish it, but considered it merely as a report to be submitted to the Cabinet Council. The King and the Government are much disturbed at the publication as they consider it to be likely to produce a misunderstanding between the British and French Governments. The article in the *Journal des Débats*, which may be considered as containing M. Guizot's sentiments, is, nevertheless, not sanctioned by him, and is entirely disapproved by the King as reflecting seriously on one of the Royal Family. . . .

Guizot spoke to me to-day about the Prince de Joinville's Pamphlet which, he said, was as much spoken of in the English newspapers as in those of France. I observed that there was nothing to object to in those notes except their publication in the form of a Pamphlet, that it was not surprising that he should feel the importance of placing the Navy of France in a condition to

cope with her enemies in the event of war. He afterwards spoke to me upon the subject of the Queen of Spain's going to Barcelona, and upon Count Trapani's meeting her there, which, he said, would not take place. That the Queen Dowager of Naples, who had been invited by Queen Christina to come to Barcelona with her son, was afraid of the sea, and that the journey by land was too long for her to think of undertaking it. I observed that it might be advantageous, if the project for the marriage was still entertained, that Count Trapani should visit some other countries before going to Spain, and he answered that if he did not come to Barcelona he should be disposed to recommend his visiting France and England and afterwards proceeding to Madrid. That he was very young and had little knowledge of the world, but that he had heard he was of a pleasing exterior. He then said that he supposed I knew that a marriage between the Duc de Bordeaux and a Princess of Naples had been in contemplation, and that Monsieur M—— had recently arrived at Naples with full Powers to conclude it, and even to espouse the Princess in the name of the Duc de Bordeaux. But he found no disposition in the Court of Naples to conclude the Marriage, and the intelligence had reached Paris that he had directed the Duc de Montebello formally to protest against it, and to tell the King that it would not do to establish a Belgrave Square at Naples, and that such an alliance would infallibly produce a revolutionary war in Italy.

I asked if there was any truth in the report of a marriage being in contemplation between the Duc d'Aumale and the daughter of the Prince de Salerno. He answered that the Princess was very agreeable to the Duc d'Aumale and that such an alliance would be highly agreeable to the King and Queen of the French, but that as yet no great progress had been made in it.

Queen Isabella, during her stay in Catalonia, is to reside at Barcelona, and the waters of Caldas are to be brought to her there. She is to remain there about six weeks.

May 30.—I went last night to Neuilly to pay my. respects to their Majesties. Soon after my arrival the King took me into an adjoining room and immediately began upon the subject of the Prince de Joinville's Pamphlet. He said that nothing had ever given him greater uneasiness since he was apprehensive it might interrupt the harmony subsisting between the two Governments.

. . . His Majesty then entered into some detail respecting the Naval force of France as compared to that of Great Britain. He knew something, he observed, of both services, and had paid much attention to the subject, and the result was a conviction that no efforts that France could make could ever place her naval force upon a footing with that of England. That the naval service of France was not popular, and was daily becoming less so. That there was no difficulty in finding recruits for the Army, but that they had often great difficulty in manning their ships. That the period when the French Fleet was really respectable was during the reign of Louis XVI who was entitled to the greatest praise for the pains he had taken to render it efficient, but even in those days it was unequal to contend with the Fleets of Great Britain. This, however, ought not to discourage France from keeping up a respectable maritime establishment, but he thought that in times of peace their efforts ought to be more directed to the increase of their commercial navy, than to preparations for the chance of a war. I hoped, I said, that the time was far distant before there would be any trial of the maritime strength of the two Nations. The King replied: "You may be sure that if I can prevent it, it will not be as long as I live."

PARIS.—1844

IV

Visit of Emperor of Russia to Queen Victoria—Aggressive action of Moors in Algeria—Mexico—Government opposition and Morocco—Sandwich Islands—Recapitulation of business in Chamber of Deputies—The Pritchard Affair—French demands of Morocco—Tahiti—Our precarious relations with France—Tahiti affair settled—French on the West African Coast—Peace with Morocco—Revision of Slave Traffic Treaty—French Agents abroad—Louis-Philippe visits Queen Victoria—The result of his visit.

June 8.—The visit of the Emperor of Russia to Queen Victoria is viewed here with much dissatisfaction. It is represented by the Opposition Journals to be a complete breaker up of the "entente cordiale," between Great Britain and France. The King and the Ministers are inclined to consider it as personally directed against Louis-Philippe and as intended by the Emperor to render the effect of the King's intended visit of no importance. It does not appear that this Government is disposed to consider it as connected with any political object but as merely personal to the King, the Emperor wishing to be beforehand with him.

June 12.—Accounts have been received from Algeria of an action having taken place between the Moors and the French in which the Moors were the aggressors. The Moors were driven back with the loss of about eighty-five killed and wounded. The French had about twenty-five wounded. This is the first time they have come in contact with the Moors, whom they represent to fight better then the Arabs.

June 14.—The Government intend to avail themselves of this aggression on the part of the Moors to instruct the Consul to require from the Emperor the following concessions. First a formal disavowal of the aggression of Sidi-el-Mernoun. Secondly

the destitution of el Gennani.[1] Thirdly to oblige Abd-el-Kader to leave the Morocco country. Fourthly to remove to a certain distance into the interior the Moorish force assembled upon the Frontier.

At the same time, with a view of intimidating the Emperor and of proving that the French are in concert, a squadron under the command of the Prince de Joinville is to proceed off the Coast of Morocco. The Prince's instructions are to anchor off the Ports of Tangiers, Tetuan, Lambe and Halle, but to abstain from any act of aggression or hostility unless he should be attacked.

In the event of the Emperor declining to afford the satisfaction required, the Prince is to proceed to Tangiers and there await the reinforcements which will be sent to him from Toulon.

It is the intention, in the event of the concessions not being granted, to act hostilely against the Ports while Marshal Bugeaud is to destroy by fire Owembda and other towns upon the Frontier.

It is not the intention of the Government to do more than punish the Emperor. They have not the least intention of retaining possession of any part of the Moroccan Territory.

June 18.—Lord Aberdeen has ordered Mr. Drummond Hay, the Consul at Tangiers, to proceed to the residence of the Emperor of Morocco, for the purpose of prevailing upon him to comply with the demands of the French. The great difficulty will be the expulsion of Abd-el-Kader, who appears to have as much influence in Morocco as the Emperor himself. The French Government will be glad to have this affair arranged without coming to blows.

June 25.—Advices have been received by Telegraph that the Prince de Joinville sailed from Toulon on the 23rd. His force consists of three sail of the line, a Frigate and four armed steamers, and he has twelve hundred troops on board.

A suspicion prevails at the War Office that the French General brought on the action with the Moors which lately took place on the frontier. The Government, however, are anxious that their differences with Morocco should be amicably settled.

June 30.—I was last night at Neuilly and had a long conversation with the King upon the Moroccan affair. His Majesty began by

[1] Moorish commander.

assuring me that the Military and Naval Commanders had the most positive instructions to abstain from hostilities so long as there was a chance of coming to an understanding with the Emperor of Morocco.

That the Prince de Joinville was to do nothing without consulting Marshal Bugeaud—that he had the fullest reliance on Joinville, and that he believed he would be found to be more prudent than the Marshal. That if they were unfortunately driven to hostilities the campaign would probably be a short but a severe one. It would be necessary to impress upon the Emperor the power of the French, but as soon as they had finished their work they would retire within their own frontier, for they had not the least desire to increase their territory, on the contrary they would be more inclined to lessen it. This he could assure me, that whatever mischief Joinville might do upon the coast, he had the strictest orders to attempt nothing against Tangiers. His Majesty then gave me an account of what passed at the meeting of June 16th between General Daumas and el Gennani previous to the skirmish. The Moorish Commander said he was come there to hear what the French General had to say. General Daumas said he was charged to propose such terms as might lead to a lasting peace between Morocco and Algiers. He began by mentioning the protection afforded to Abd-el-Kader, which el Gennani denied in very offensive terms, telling the General it was a falsehood. The General then required the expulsion of Abd-el-Kader or that he should at least be removed to some part of Morocco where he could do no harm, and that the Moorish force upon the frontier should be further removed into the interior.

The Moorish Commander said: "If we agree to that it must be upon condition that you retire across the Tafora."

The General said that was a question to be settled between the two Governments and not by him. El Gennani said: "Then there is no necessity for this conference. In the meanwhile we are at peace." "No," replied the other, "we are at war," when he rose, and immediately the attack upon the French Coast commenced.

I may observe here that the language of the King respecting Morocco is exactly conformable to what I heard from M. Guizot in the morning upon the same subject—namely that everything would be done to avoid hostilities both by sea and land. That if

the negotiations with the Emperor of Morocco should fail and that the French should be compelled to resort to hostilities, the war would be short though severe, and that the result would be the same as if no hostilities had taken place, for the French would immediately retire within their own frontier.

Upon my saying that the great difficulty would be the disposing of Abd-el-Kader, he said that was true, but still he did not see why if he could not be expelled from the country he should not be placed in some part of Morocco remote from the frontier.

July 5.—I have received instructions to present a note to Guizot binding him to the assurances given that, even in the event of hostilities with Morocco, France will not appropriate to herself any portion of the Morocco Territory. I had prepared a note for that purpose, but in consequence of Guizot's speech yesterday in the Chamber of Deputies, when called upon for explanations relative to Morocco, when he afforded all the pledges which England could require, I have suspended the presentation of the note, and have asked for further instructions as to whether I shall present it or not. It appears to me to betray a suspicion of the designs of France for which there are no grounds.

July 6.—I have had a conference with Guizot this morning on the subject of the retail trade in Mexico denied to foreigners. Guizot said he could not possibly forego the claims of France to this Trade without any restrictions such as is required by the Mexican Government, namely that foreigners exercising the trade should take out bills of naturalisation. That under the Treaty entered into by Admiral Baudin with the Mexican Government, Frenchmen are entitled to the free exercise of this Trade subject to no restriction whatever until a new Treaty be concluded between France and Mexico, and that upon the complete fulfilment of this stipulation France must insist. He would be very glad if the British Agent should succeed in prevailing upon the Mexican Government to recall this Decree, and the French Agent will be directed to support his efforts. He agreed that the negociations for this affair should be carried on quite distinct and separate from the negociations for obtaining the acknowledgement by Mexico of the independence of Texas. Upon the latter subject he had sent instructions to the French Minister in Mexico.

July 11.—Lord Aberdeen persists in thinking that a note ought to be presented to Guizot on the subject of the affairs of Morocco. I have accordingly this day presented a note to him upon that subject. . . .

July 16.—I had a long conversation last night with Guizot when he said that the proceedings of the Opposition, both in France and in England, with respect to Morocco, were most embarrassing to both Governments, and it was evident that the interpellations both here and in England were made in such a manner as to excite a suspicion that they were playing into each other's hands. It is evidently true, for with respect to the Exequatur of our Consul at Algiers, what can we require more than that he should be suffered to exercise his functions under the Exequatur of the Turkish Government, and what can have been the motive of a Member of the Opposition to put any question to Sir Robert Peel upon this subject unless to excite attention to it here. Accordingly Guizot has been attacked for suffering the British Consul to act under any authority excepting that of an Exequatur from King Louis-Philippe.

The same with respect to the acknowledgement of the right of possession, a right which was certainly acknowledged for ten years by the Whig Government, and yet questions are put to Sir Robert Peel by the same Member, no doubt with the intention of sowing dissension between the two Governments—and every question that is asked in England and answered by the Government is made use of here to the prejudice of the Government of France. It would appear, however, to be the opinion of the French Authorities on the spot, that the differences between France and Morocco will be amicably settled. The Prince de Joinville writes to the Princess under date the 4th inst. that he believes that things will be amicably settled, that he is about to proceed to Gibraltar, and that he believes his expedition will terminate in a visit to that Fortress, and that he shall shortly return to Toulon. . . .

I have shown him [Guizot] Mr. Pakenham's dispatches relative to the refusal of the American Government to unite with Great Britain and France in the acknowledgement of the independence of the Sandwich Islands. He will send to M. Pageot similar instructions to those of Lord Aberdeen to Mr. Pakenham.

July 21.—The business in the Chamber of Deputies will terminate

to-morrow. It has been a trying Session for Ministers. The following is a short recapitulation of what has occurred. At the beginning of the Session, the Ministers promised the King to propose a dotation for the Duc de Nemours, but when they came to sound their supporters upon the subject they found so many of them adverse to the project and determined to vote against it, that they were apprehensive of being in a minority and therefore abandoned the project, very much to the dissatisfaction of the King.

The next question was the vote of censure upon those of the Legitimist Party who had visited the Duc de Bordeaux in England, which led to a violent attack upon M. Guizot for his journey to Gand, which, although he defended himself ably and retorted upon his opponents with much courage and firmness, has nevertheless added to his unpopularity, and the vote of censure against the Legitimists is likely to add to their number in the Chamber upon a new election.

The next question which very unexpectedly arose to embarrass the Government was the affair of Tahiti and the disavowal of the proceedings of Admiral Dupetit Thouars. This occasioned a most violent attack upon the Government in both Chambers for their alleged subserviency to England, and it is probable that every fresh arrival from the Pacific will give rise to a renewal of the attack, if not in the Chambers, in the journals. It may be remarked that the Prince de Joinville warmly supported the cause of Admiral Dupetit Thouars; and hence commenced his intimacy with many members of the Opposition which was afterwards increased by the publication of his Pamphlet, which has also been a source of much embarrassment both to the King and to his Government.

It is also very difficult for the French Ministers to afford the explanations required of them relative to Algeria and Morocco, and their position in this respect is rendered still more embarrassing on account of the questions so repeatedly put to Her Majesty's Ministers in both Houses of Parliament upon the same subjects. Owing to these matters being so unexpectedly agitated in our Houses of Parliament, the question of the Exequatur of the Consul and of the demand for our formal acknowledgement of the French right of possession of Algeria will, with the eternal subject of the right of search, furnish ground for a perpetual attack upon Ministers.

The last embarrassing subject which has been agitated in the

Chambers to the prejudice of Ministers has been the Exposé published in the *Moniteur* of the Revenues of the Crown with a view to show their inadequacy to the support of the Royal Family and to obtain dotations for the younger branches. M. Guizot was compelled to take upon himself the responsibility of this very imprudent publication, and to declare that he should take a proper opportunity of bringing the subject under the consideration of the Chamber, but it is generally considered that this proceeding has only served to throw discredit upon the Royal Family and the Government, and to throw additional obstacles in the way of the measure it is intended to promote.

July 31.—Another very serious question has arisen respecting Tahiti. It appears that there has been an insurrection there, and Mr. Pritchard, our Consul, has been banished the Island upon pretence that he fomented the disturbance. I received a despatch and a volume of inclosures upon the subject from Lord Aberdeen this morning, and called upon Guizot before I had time to read more than the despatch. He immediately began upon the subject, since he had received a despatch from M. de Chabot with several inclosures which he had not yet had time to read. With reference, however, to what was stated in some of our newspapers, he must observe that with respect to the proceeding against Mr. Pritchard, he was not Consul when they took place nor could he be considered by the French Authorities as holding any official employment under Her Majesty's Government, because, when the Sovereignty was assumed by Admiral Dupetit Thouars, he protested against that assumption and threw up his Consulship. He could only therefore be considered as a private individual residing upon the Island, who had been sent away because (according to the French reports) he excited the people to insurrection. I observed, in answer to this, that Mr. Pritchard might have protested against the assumption of the Sovereignty of France, and consequently suspended the exercise of his functions, but that he could not throw up his office without the permission of his Government. I then shewed him His Lordship's despatch, from which he might judge of the opinion entertained by Her Majesty's Government upon this affair. He repeated that it was impossible for the Authorities at Tahiti to consider Pritchard as Consul after he had ceased for so many months to exercise Consular Authority—that for the rest he had not had

time to look into the papers, but would read them immediately, after which he would again communicate with me upon the subject.

August 6.—The history of the proceedings at Tahiti is as follows. A Native of the Island attacked a Sentry in the night, and endeavoured to deprive him of his firelock but did not succeed.

M. D'Aubigny, being in the temporary command of the Island, upon hearing of this attack upon the Sentry, determined to arrest Mr. Pritchard, whom he accused of being the instigator of all the insurrections which had taken place at Tahiti while under the Sovereignty of the French. The next morning, therefore, Mr. Pritchard, when going on board the Cormorant to pay a visit to the Captain, was arrested by an officer and two or three soldiers, and thrown into prison without enquiry or examination of any kind. He was kept in prison for six days, and then on board a French vessel of war for four days more.

The Captain of the Cormorant (Gordon) immediately wrote to M. D'Aubigny complaining of this outrage in strong terms, and desiring that Mr. Pritchard might immediately be released from confinement. This M. D'Aubigny refused, and again brought strong accusations against Pritchard but without producing any proof of his guilt.

On March 3rd a proclamation was issued by M. D'Aubigny accusing Mr. Pritchard of being the daily instigator of the popular commotion at Tahiti, and declaring his property responsible for any loss sustained by the French, and his person for any French blood which might be shed.

Captain Gordon again wrote to M. D'Aubigny who returned his letter unopened, writing on the back of it that he had not leisure to answer his arguments, and moreover declined any further correspondence with him on account of the impropriety of some of the expressions in his first letter to him.

In the meanwhile very strict regulations were published for the Island and the Port, which were declared to be in a state of siege, and an application from Captain Gordon that his boats should be allowed the same privileges as those of French men of war was refused.

Upon the return of Governor Bruat to Tahiti he intimated to Captain Gordon that he did not know what detained him at Tahiti, and that the sooner he left the Island the better, and that he might

when he went away take Mr. Pritchard with him, provided he engaged not to land him at Eimeo or at any other of the Society Islands.

This affair is greatly aggravated by the absurd violence and insolence of the French officials, particularly of the Pacific. Guizot has resolutely refused to answer the questions put to him in the Chambers, and we should have done well to have followed the same course in Parliament.

August 12.—Guizot tells me he is preparing a report of all the accusations against Mr. Pritchard upon which the French Authorities at Tahiti have been writing, which he shall read to Jarnac to be laid before Lord Aberdeen. I shall therefore send to His Lordship an abstract which I have made from the papers forwarded to me containing the acts for which we demand reparation. The following is the opinion of an eminent French Lawyer. Tahiti, he says, must, at the period of these proceedings, have been considered as a part of the French Territory, and therefore as subjected to the code penal of France. According to this code, Mr. Pritchard having, according to the conviction of M. D'Aubigny, been engaged in fomenting insurrection was liable to be seized and put *au secret*, that is debarred from all intercourse with others, preparatory to his being put on his trial for his alleged offence against the then Sovereignty of the Island. M. D'Aubigny, in expectation of the arrival of Captain Bruat, might doubt whether he would be justified in releasing Mr. Pritchard from the intended judicial proceeding to which the *mise au secret* was the preliminary step, and could not therefore take upon himself to remove Mr. Pritchard from Tahiti. The regulation respecting the boats of all ships, including the boats of the Cormorant, was a right claimed from the declaration that the Port was in a state of siege. . . .

Many persons think, and among others M. Thiers, that a great change has taken place in the public opinion in England with respect to France, and that the public feeling is in favour of a war with France and that this is evident from the speeches of Ministers upon the affair of Tahiti. I have taken some pains to show that this opinion is erroneous, and in particular with M. Thiers, who says that Guizot's retention is so precarious that he is determined not to continue at Paris lest he should be supposed to be intriguing against him. Count Molé has also left Paris.

August 15.—In consequence of a despatch which I received to-day from Lord Aberdeen complaining that no answer had yet been returned to our reclamations on the subject of Mr. Pritchard, I called upon Guizot at Auteuil and showed him Lord Aberdeen's despatch. After reading it he desired to have a copy of it, saying that he wished to lay it before the Cabinet Council. I answered that I was not authorised to give a copy of it. He then said that he should refer the subject to the Cabinet Council. I begged him to read the despatch over again with attention. He then took it into his hands and asked if he might make some notes from it. To this I consented.

He was much excited and desired me to observe that, with respect to Pritchard, he had only objected to his imprisonment and to the proclamation of M. D'Aubigny, and that in admitting these he should have many other things to state; and the French Government would have a right to demand reparation for the proceedings of Pritchard. I replied, laughing, that he really could not be in earnest in demanding reparation for anything that Pritchard had done, since the French Authorities had taken justice into their own hands and that it was the treatment he had received of which we were now treating. He said that he never could retract the opinion he had given to me that the imprisonment of Pritchard and the proclamation issued by M. D'Aubigny were reprehensible, but that it was for the Cabinet to decide what was to be done. That they would have had a right to imprison Pritchard if an English vessel had not been there to take him away. He concluded by saying that he should direct M. de Jarnac to communicate his answer to Lord Aberdeen. He said that he could state to me in perfect confidence that he had hoped that the Governments might have come to some understanding as to the notes to be exchanged between them upon this affair. I replied that I did not believe there need have been or would be any objection to such a course, but that whatever was to be done should be done immediately, for that our Parliament was to meet again and that no doubt further questions would be put to our Ministers. He said he thought Ministers might avoid answering such questions.

August 17.—I have been to-day to Auteuil by appointment to confer with M. Guizot. He began by shewing me the despatches from the Prince de Joinville and from the French consul at Tangiers.

The answer of the Morocco Government to Mr. Hay as to the demands of France was very unsatisfactory. To the demand that the Moorish force should remove from the frontier the answer was that they would do so when Marshal Bugeaud removed from Salle Magnaina, and to the demand that the Commanders of the Moorish forces should be punished for attacking the French Army it was required that Marshal Bugeaud should likewise be punished. Upon hearing that these were the answers which had been given to Mr. Hay, the Prince de Joinville determined upon attacking the fortifications of Tangiers, which were silenced and dismantled in an hour, the loss on the side of the French being twelve or fourteen killed and wounded.

The despatch from the Consul is to the same effect.

I said I was sorry His Royal Highness had attacked Tangiers which I had always understood was to be respected. He answered that he had done very little damage to the town, but it was always intended he should attack the fortifications. I could not, I said, understand the distinction, for that to attack the fortifications of a town was to attack the town itself. The Prince is to proceed immediately to the attack of Mogador, and afterwards to Larache in which port are the Moorish gun boats.

M. Guizot afterwards spoke of Tahiti. He said he was very glad to hear from M. de Jarnac that that affair was left entirely in Lord Aberdeen's hands and that he hoped that it might be brought to an issue satisfactory to both Governments, and that he hoped shortly to be able to send His Lordship such an answer as would be satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government. I repeated these words to him and he said I had correctly repeated what he had said.

. . . I read him part of Mr. Pritchard's second report in order to show him the cruel treatment he had received. He observed that if entire credit were to be given to Mr. Pritchard he had reason to complain, but he was not inclined to rely implicitly on what he had said.

August 27.—I called this morning upon Guizot at Auteuil. He immediately began to talk of the Tahiti affair upon which he said the final decision of the Council had been taken. They maintained the right of the Government to remove Mr. Pritchard from the Island, but they entirely disapproved his imprisonment and the violent proclamation which was afterwards issued making

his property and his person responsible for any loss which might be sustained by the French, or for any French blood which might be shed in consequence of the insurrection. That he was preparing a statement of Mr. Pritchard's conduct which would be submitted to the Council and forwarded to-morrow to M. de Jarnac to be laid before Lord Aberdeen.

To my enquiry whether, in relation to the censure upon M. D'Aubigny, he would be recalled from Tahiti he answered that he would not be recalled.

He then said that he had really yielded as much in that affair as he conscientiously could, and as he thought Her Majesty's Government were entitled to claim, and with respect to the removal of Mr. Pritchard from the Island he cited a case in which the same course had been taken by the British Authorities at the Mauritius, A person had been tried and acquitted no less than three times for some offence he had committed; and yet the Governor took upon himself to remove him from the Island. He entertained a confident hope that the decision of the Council would satisfy Her Majesty's Government, but if unfortunately he should be disappointed in this expectation he had determined to retire from office, and he had informed the King of his intention, who had not disapproved of it.

Of course I could not give any opinion as to the effect the decision of the French Government might produce upon Her Majesty's Government. I therefore confined myself to saying that his retirement from office would be viewed with deep regret, not only by Her Majesty's Government but by the British public, generally, and would, I believe, be considered as a serious calamity throughout Europe.

I afterwards observed that Mr. Pritchard had property in the Island of Tahiti and that his wife and family were also there, and I asked whether he would be suffered now or hereafter to return to the Island. He replied, certainly not for the present, but when the French Protectorate should be re-established and some degree of order restored in the Island, it might be possible to allow of his return. He could, however, say nothing positive upon the subject.

The conversation then turned upon the affairs of Morocco and upon the bombardment of Mogador. I observed that the Prince de Joinville had landed some troops. He said not upon the Continent, but upon a rocky islet at the entrance of the harbour

which it was necessary to occupy in order to secure the blockade of Mogador which they had established. That this was the great mart for traffic with Morocco, and they had therefore determined upon the blockade, as their object was to press as hardly as possible upon the Emperor of Morocco in order to make him feel that the longer he resisted the greater would be his loss. That it might happen that the operations of the War might render the temporary occupation of some places on the Coast necessary, but that they had no intention of establishing themselves permanently anywhere in Morocco, or of doing more than obtaining his acquiescence in the fair demands which they had made. If indeed the War were to be prolonged they might insist upon some indemnity for their expenses, but they had no such intention at present.

August 29.—I consider our relations with France to be at this moment in a very precarious condition. If we refuse the decision of the French Cabinet Council upon Pritchard's affair, and Guizot resigns in consequence, which will be the breaking up of the Government, I do not see how war is to be avoided—for no other Minister can venture to concede more than he has done, nor in the present excited state of the public mind was it possible for him to make greater concessions. If therefore Her Majesty's Government are anxious to maintain peace, and to keep Guizot in office, they must accept the limited reparation which the French Government have offered. They would willingly concede more if in their power, but as it is, the concessions they are prepared to make will probably expose them to all the violence of the Press and of the Public.

Whatever is done, however, should be done immediately lest some new incident should occur to render things more difficult, and to increase our embarrassment.

Accounts have been received from Mogador by which it appears that after the bombardment of the French the Kabyles descended from the mountains, plundered the town and then burnt it, so that not a vestige of it remains. The British Vice Consul and several English fell into the hands of the Moors, who refused to deliver them up at the requisition of the French, but they were afterwards rescued and placed on board the Warspite which was on the spot, having been sent out to watch the proceedings of the French.

It seems to be the intention of the French Government, in consequence of their successes by sea and land, to make a fresh

overture for peace with Morocco. The Prince de Joinville has retired with his squadron to Cadiz, leaving a brig and another small vessel to maintain the blockade of Mogador—and a French Ship of War is to be sent from hence with a summons to the Emperor of Morocco to conclude a peace with France by an immediate acquiescence in the four demands already submitted to him. This, I trust, will be satisfactory to our Government.

August 30.—I was last night at Neuilly to pay my respects to their Majesties. Soon after my arrival the King took me into another room, and immediately expressed the hope that Her Majesty's Government would be satisfied with the decision which the Cabinet Council had come to respecting Mr. Pritchard's affair.

I answered that I could not venture to give an opinion as to the effect which the decision of the French Government might produce upon Her Majesty's Government, but that I thought the disapproval of the French Cabinet of some of the proceedings of M. D'Aubigny would have been more marked had that person been recalled. The King said: "We deliberated upon this but it was found to be impossible for many reasons, but we have added to the expression of regret for the violence offered to Mr. Pritchard our disapprobation, and this decision of the Council will be formally communicated to him." His Majesty then repeated what he had said to me upon a former occasion, that he believed M. D'Aubigny had been sent to the Marquesas.

Guizot shewed me yesterday his despatch to Jarnac on the subject of the Pritchard affair. He admits the impropriety of having imprisoned Pritchard and having issued the violent proclamation against him, and he expresses the regret and "improbation" of the Government for these acts which will be formally signified to M. D'Aubigny. Whether our Government will consider this sufficient reparation remains to be seen.

Guizot also communicated to me his instructions to the Duc de Glucksberg and to M. de Nyon, the French Consul, on the subject of the fresh overtures for peace to the Morocco Government. A flag of truce is to be sent with these gentlemen, who are to invite the Emperor to send a person with full powers to treat with them upon the same conditions already offered to them. The negociation is to be conducted on board ship—the French Plenipotentiary being positively prohibited from landing. The French are perfectly

satisfied with Mr. Hay, a letter having been found after the battle of August 15th addressed by Abd-er-Rahman to his son stating that Mr. Hay had pleaded strongly in favour of the demands of the French; and had urged the Emperor's immediate compliance with them.

It appears that Thiers is apprehensive of War, and is disposed to support Guizot in the concessions he may make. Molé is more insidious. If we do go to war it can be imputed to nothing but to the Press, and to the still more violent expressions of Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, from which he will not like to recede.

September 7.—God be praised the Tahiti affair has been amicably settled, as has been announced in the Queen's Speech upon the prorogation of Parliament. The reparation offered by France has been accepted with the addition that Pritchard receives a pecuniary indemnity.

September 11.—I have had a conversation with Guizot about the settlement of the French upon the Western Coast of Africa. It appears that one of their captains of a Merchant Vessel landed at Galoon, made the Chief and three or four others drunk with spirits, and then got them to sign a paper which professed to be a Treaty of peace with Louis-Philippe, but was in fact a cession of territory. The Chief has since protested against this, but without effect. Our Merchants are frightened lest their trade should be interrupted, and memorialised Lord Aberdeen. Guizot says the trade will be open to all nations as heretofore and no additional duties levied. I shall, however, present a note upon the subject, in order that I may have an answer in writing.

It appears that Lord Palmerston is making a sort of diplomatic tour upon the Continent. He proposes to visit Berlin, Vienna and Paris. He is very busy about the Zollverein and wants to get all the information possible respecting the trade and tariffs of Germany and to ascertain from Bülow what they require with a view to the establishment of a commercial intercourse with England. His object, in fact, is to prove the advantages which would result from the abrogation of the Corn Laws and the establishment of a free trade in corn. He assisted at a breakfast at Marshal Sebastiani's at Ems and held forth upon the relative positions of France and England,

saying that their interests were so different that there never could be a very cordial alliance between them though they might maintain amicable relations. He condemned the French for attacking Morocco, saying that they ought, before resorting to hostilities, to have put their affairs entirely into the hands of the English, and tried to the finish the effect of their mediation.

Guizot has sent a reminder to all his Consuls and Agents in the East desiring them to avoid everything which might lead to dissensions with their English colleagues.

September 20.—Intelligence has been received that peace was signed with Morocco on the 18th instant, the Emperor having acceded to all the demands of France. Mogador was immediately evacuated, orders having been sent for that purpose.

In the evening I went to Neuilly to congratulate the King, who was highly pleased that peace should have been settled previous to his visit to the Queen. He hoped that visit would remove any bitterness which might still exist in the public mind towards France. He spoke with regret of the publication of Joinville's pamphlet, as having been the cause of the change in the public feeling towards France. Some people were wicked enough to suppose that he had approved and was aware of the publication of the pamphlet, whereas it had met with his entire reprehension as he was perfectly aware of the feeling it would produce in England.

September 26.—I went again yesterday evening to Neuilly to congratulate their Majesties upon the approaching marriage of the Duc d'Aumale with the daughter of the Prince of Salerno.

September 29.—Guizot has been very unwell for some days. His illness is attributed to over-fatigue and to anxiety of mind proceeding from the late occurrences which had at one time so unfavourable an appearance. His physician has prescribed to him perfect quiet and abstinence from all business until the King's departure for England.

He assisted, however, yesterday at a Cabinet Council at which the King was present, and which was summoned for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of endeavouring to avail themselves of the King's visit to England for opening a negociation with her Majesty's Government for the revisal of the Slave

Trade Treaties with a view of withdrawing France from the right of search.

Monsieur Guizot had prepared a Memorial upon this subject, which was read to the Council by Admiral Mackau.

The Memorial states that France is equally desirous with England to adopt the most efficacious measures for putting an end to the traffic in slaves—that she would willingly lend herself to more vigorous measures for the total abolition of that traffic but that a due deference to public opinion requires that she should use her best endeavours to withdraw herself from the reciprocal right of search, when she would engage to maintain a sufficient force to enable her to exercise an effectual control over vessels navigating under the French flag. The object of the French Government seems to be to place France upon the same footing with respect to the African Slave Trade as the Government of the United States, and the Ministers are of opinion that they cannot meet the Chambers without being enabled to state that something decisive and conformable to the wishes of the Nation has been settled.

M. Guizot has never mentioned to me his intention of endeavouring to open a negociation upon this subject with Lord Aberdeen, and I have of course abstained from alluding to it in any way which might have afforded him an opportunity of entering upon it with me.

October 2.—The King has fixed upon Monday the 7th for his embarkation for England, and expects to reach Windsor by Tuesday to dinner. . . .

I propose to write to Lord Aberdeen concerning one or two points upon which a word from him to Guizot may be of service in maintaining a good understanding between the two Governments. The first relates to the insubordination of the French Agents abroad, Consular and others, who, regardless of their instructions and of the conciliatory spirit of the two Governments, act from their own impulses, which frequently prompt them to act in opposition to British Agents whether right or wrong as regards the matter in question. I speak not only of the French Agents in the Pacific, but of those in Syria, at Tunis and in almost every part of the Globe. It is scarcely possible that a good understanding can be maintained between Great Britain and France while the Agents of the latter Power are systematically opposing and thwarting us in all directions. M. Guizot is aware of this and has, I know,

sent instructions to many of his Agents in the East to pursue a different line of conduct, and a word from Lord Aberdeen will confirm him in these good intentions.

Another subject relates to the points recently occupied by France upon the Western Coast of Africa. Guizot assures me that they will occasion no interruption to our trade with these points, and will give an answer to my notes to this effect as soon as he returns from England, being too unwell to do so now. It must be recollected, however, that their Governor of Senegal, Captain Bouet, is our decided enemy, and has shewn himself to be so upon various occasions. I have not as yet received an answer to the very strong representation I made to M. Guizot for compensation for the conduct of the French to our ships in the Casamanza River.

Generally speaking, the French Government are very negligent in replying to our representations or granting any redress for their aggressions upon our trade upon the African Coast.

October 6.—Another incident has occurred at Tahiti. A lieutenant and boat's crew were stopped and forced to go on board the French Commander's ship. This is stated in the English newspapers, and also that an apology was made to the Lieutenant—but Captain Bruat in his reports to the French Government makes no mention of the circumstance, at which the Government is very angry.

October 10.—King Louis-Philippe proceeded to England on the 7th, was enthusiastically received at Portsmouth, where Prince Albert and the Duke of Wellington went to meet him. He was also warmly cheered on his road to Windsor. The Mayor and Corporation of Portsmouth presented an address to him, to which he replied in English. He was received at Windsor by the Queen at the bottom of the stairs, and embraced her. He is to be invested with the Order of the Garter. All the French Opposition journals are furious.

October 15.—On the 14th King Louis-Philippe went to Portsmouth but the weather was so bad that he could not embark. He therefore went by the railroad to Dover, where he arrived at three o'clock in the morning of the 15th. He embarked at twelve and reached Calais at three o'clock p.m. and immediately set out for

the Château d'Eu. His reception in England has been most brilliant and satisfactory.

October 19.—I saw Guizot this morning. He told me that the King's visit to England had been most satisfactory in all respects. That nothing could exceed the enthusiasm with which he had been received by all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, from the Queen downwards. That he himself had had long conversations with Aberdeen, Peel, Wellington and others of Her Majesty's subjects, most satisfactory upon all points with the exception of the right of search. That the most important event, however, which had occurred was the city address to the King, since it not only afforded a certain testimony of the public feeling towards the King personally, but also the disposition on the part of the Public to establish cordial and friendly relations with France. That this had produced a most salutary impression in France, and that in all the country through which the King passed from Calais to the Château d'Eu he had been received with the most lively expressions of respect and regard.

In regard to the question of the right of search, M. Guizot said that he had entered fully into that question with Lord Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel. That he found them disposed to do anything in their power to satisfy France, but that the greatest difficulty stood in the way of releasing France from her engagements. M. Guizot said that he was preparing a statement to be submitted to Lord Aberdeen in which he thought he could show that France would be enabled to contribute quite as much to the suppression of the Slave Trade after she had been released from her engagements with respect to the right of search—that in fact she might easily evade the search of her vessels without any infraction of Treaty, for that the stipulation respecting the right of search stated that neither power should employ upon this service more than double the number of vessels employed by the other, but that the number of vessels to be employed was not stated, so that if France chose to employ only one vessel upon this service, England would have only a right to require the issues of two Warrants for her vessels, and this, in fact, would be tantamount to the relinquishment of the right of search. I knew, M. Guizot said, the difficulties he had to encounter with his own friends in the Chamber on this subject, and the subject would no doubt be vehemently urged upon him in the next Session, but he still hoped that he should be enabled to state

something satisfactory upon the subject at the opening of the Session.

I observed that he would be enabled to convince his supporters in the Chamber that he had redeemed the pledge which he had given to the Chamber that he would bring the matter under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. That he well knew the feeling which prevailed in England respecting this traffic and how difficult it would be for Her Majesty's Ministers to make any concession which should even have the appearance of weakening the means of putting an end to it, so that their difficulties would be even greater than those which M. Guizot would have to encounter, for that he would be enabled to prove to his supporters that he had redeemed the pledge which he had given to the Chamber that he would open a negociation upon the subject with Her Majesty's Government, and if he had failed it was owing to circumstances over which he could not possibly have any control.

Upon all other subjects M. Guizot said the two Governments were fully agreed.

With respect to the points upon the Western Coast of Africa recently occupied by the French, he said he had given assurances to Lord Aberdeen that the trade would as heretofore be open to all Nations, and that he would give some assurances to that effect in reply to the notes which I had addressed to him upon that subject. He also said that he would send the most positive orders to the French Agents abroad to maintain a good understanding with their English colleagues, and that if they failed to do so they would be recalled. He had, he said, agreed with Lord Aberdeen as to the measures to be adopted for the purpose of obtaining the acknowledgement of the independence of Texas by the Mexican Government and also of the measures to be pursued in the River Plate.

October 24.—The King and Queen returned to St. Cloud from the Château d'Eu on Wednesday, and yesterday morning I went to St. Cloud to pay my respects to them. They were both warm in their expressions of satisfaction at the reception the King had met with in England. The King, to use His Majesty's own words, said that the Queen could not have shewn him more kindness and attention if he had been Her Majesty's father, and these attentions were continued from the day of his arrival to that of his departure. His Majesty spoke with similar satisfaction of the cordial greeting

he had received from all classes of Her Majesty's subjects and particularly of the addresses which had been presented to him, to which, especially to that of the city, he attached the greatest importance, as he was sure they had produced a most favourable impression here, and that his reception had opened the eyes of many persons here who were before disposed to consider the British Public as inimical to France.

One of the circumstances attending the King's visit most dwelt upon here was Her Majesty's visit to the French Steamer the *Gemar*, as it is not only considered as complimentary to the King, but highly so to the French Naval service.

October 26.—About two years ago a loan of 450 millions of francs was voted in the Chamber of Deputies to be applied to the expenses of railroads. One hundred and fifty millions of that sum has already been raised and another loan of one hundred and fifty millions is again to be raised, which it is supposed will be undertaken by the House of Lafitte with some English Capitalists.

PARIS.—1844-1846

V

The Spanish marriage—Harassing tactics of the Opposition in the Chamber of Deputies—Texas—Proposed action on the River Plate—Prussia—Gambier and Wallis Islands—The King and Guizot—The question of the right of search examined by a Commission—Conference on the River Plate proposal—The Chamber of Deputies and the Pritchard affair—President Jones of Texas—Switzerland—Progress of negotiations in Spanish marriage—The Chargé d'Affaires from Texas—Count Trapani—Mazzini—The Independence of Texas—The archives of the police—The Opposition attacks on England—Don Carlos abdicates his rights—The Chamber and Tahiti—the West Coast of Africa—Cowley goes to London—The Duke of Wellington and the unprepared state of the Country in event of war—Queen Victoria's visit to Germany—Morocco—River Plate—Sons of Don Francisco agree not to seek marriage with Queen of Spain—The Queen's condition—A new intrigue—Palmerston in Paris—Resignation of Narvaez—French influence in the Mediterranean—Alarming news from Portugal—Lord Cowley resigns—His rêsumé of Palmerston's Policy.

October 31, 1844.—I saw Guizot yesterday who told me he had had a short despatch from Bresson reporting that Martinez de la Rosa had declared in the Senate that the Government would oppose by all the means in their power any union between the Queen and the son of Don Carlos, and also the return of any of that family to Spain. Bresson also said that the Government felt themselves sure of carrying their constitutional reforms through the Cortes, the Opposition amounting to eighteen only.

Upon my asking M. Guizot whether there was any truth in the report of a plot carrying on at Bourges for the purpose of prevailing upon the son of Don Carlos to repair to Spain and to make his submission to the Queen, he told me that some weeks ago a monk arrived at Bourges. That he had several interviews with Don Carlos, his object being to prevail upon him to abdicate his rights to the Throne of Spain. Don Carlos, however, was obstinate

in his rejection of these counsels, and refused even to hear of a marriage between his son and the Queen, excepting upon equal terms of rank and power. The monk had several interviews with the son with the view of prevailing upon him to enter Spain and to make his submission to the Queen, even though contrary to the wishes of his father. The son replied that he lamented the perseverance of his father in the resolution which he had adopted, since he considered it as ruinous to the interests of the family and also to those of his country, but that he could not take a step of such importance in direct opposition to the wishes and intentions of the Head of his family.

M. Guizot thinks that there is a party in Spain anxious to bring about a marriage between the Queen and the son of Don Carlos, and that they have at this moment emissaries at Bourges endeavouring to prevail upon the son to enter Spain. He confessed, he said, that should the Infant be prevailed upon to adopt this course, to make his submission to the Queen and to place himself upon the same footing with other Pretenders to her hand, he could not see any great objection to this union with Her Majesty. But that this seemed to be hopeless in consequence of the declaration of Martinez de la Rosa.

I asked him whether the project of a marriage with Count Trapani was entirely abandoned. He answered that it was in vain to think of such a marriage so long as the King of Naples kept the young Prince immured in a Convent of priests at Rome. That the King had been advised, if he still had this marriage in contemplation, to send the young Prince upon his travels, to let him visit the principal Courts of Europe before proceeding to Spain, but that at present no further steps had been taken with a view to this marriage.

He told me in answer to a question I put to him, that he did not recollect having, when in England, had any conversation with Lord Aberdeen upon this subject, but he wished me to communicate to him what had passed between us upon this subject.

November 2.—Bulwer writes me word that it is reported that Bresson is doing all he can to effect a marriage with the Count Trapani. A plot has been discovered against the life of Narvaez. It is supposed that the constitutional reforms will pass the Cortes, but there is great discontent in the country, which will probably

Isabella II, Queen of Spain.

break out into insurrection at no distant period. The declaration of the Queen Mother's marriage has made her very unpopular and will probably put a stop to her Dowry, but she is enormously rich; I am told from good authority that her fortune is not less than two hundred millions of francs or eight million sterling.

November 5.—We dined yesterday at St. Cloud, where there was a play (Maçon) in the evening. The King in the highest spirits wearing the Order of the Garter. The Queen confined to her room with a severe cold. The King as usual talking much of his reception in England—uneasy about the affairs of Spain. He said that on his way to Fontainbleau there was a large concourse of people who cried "Vive le Roi" and afterwards "Vive la Reine d'Angleterre."

November 10.—In consequence of the speech of Martinez de la Rosa and the determination to exclude Don Carlos and his family from ever returning to Spain, the French Government have renewed their negociations with the Court of Naples for the marriage of the Count Trapani with the young Queen of Spain.

November 14.—I have had some trouble about the new French Establishments upon the West Coast of Africa. Guizot, at the end of his note promising that the Trade should continue free as heretofore, added, unless France should find it necessary to exercise her Sovereignty. Upon my remonstrating upon this he said that France could not give up this right. I observed that he contemplated a total change of the system of free trade upon the Coast of Africa, and that if France were to act upon this system England would do the same. He said he was quite aware of this. That no alteration was in contemplation at present, but that the time might come when it would be necessary for France to protect her own trade by imposing some duties upon the trade of other Nations.

At length he consented to expunge the objectionable passage from his note, and would write me a private letter stating that France might at some time or other be under the necessity of exercising this right of Sovereignty, which letter I am to submit to Lord Aberdeen. Thus the matter has been settled, and it is a great point to have got rid of this objectionable passage from the Official Note.

November 19.—The attention of the Government is at present entirely occupied by their negociations for the marriage of Queen Isabella with a Neapolitan Prince. Guizot reported to me yesterday that he had great hopes that the representations of Joinville and Aumale would lead the King to decide at once upon the match. Upon my asking where the difficulty lay, he said that the Austrian Government were adverse to any connection between the Courts of Spain and Naples, and were also opposed to this alliance because it would interfere with their favourite project of bringing about a marriage between the Queen and the eldest son of Don Carlos. That the Pope likewise supported the interests of Don Carlos, that Prince Metternich had advised the Neapolitan Government not to make any overture to Spain, but to leave it to the Spanish Court to make the first proposal, which M. Guizot said could not be so long as the King of Naples kept his brother immersed in a convent at Rome. That the French Princes would propose to him to send his brother upon his travels attended by those in whom he could confide. Upon my observing that if the King were to consent to this some time would elapse before the Prince could reach Madrid, M. Guizot said that if there was an understanding that the marriage was to take place, the delay of a few months would be of no importance. He then talked of the sons of Don Francisco, to whom the French Government would have no objection, but he doubted whether they were thought favourably of in Spain, where they were better known, and their characters more duly apprehended than they could be in Paris.

November 23.—The approaching session is likely to be a stormy one, and I learn from various sources that the plan of the Opposition is to harass M. Guizot by perpetual attacks in the hope that the weak state of his health will compel him to retire from office. He is, however, daily recovering, and I hope, before the opening of the session, will be in a state to resist his enemies in the Chamber and to baffle all their efforts to displace him. The Right of Search, the Tahiti affair, the peace with Morocco, and the foreign policy of the Government, are the principal points upon which they will be attacked. . . .

These attacks will be conducted by Messieurs Thiers, Odillon Barrot, Berger, Billault and Lavroche Jaquelin. It is believed that M. Thiers will reserve for himself the attack upon the Government

for their Foreign Policy, including their intimate relations with England. About a year ago, when he thought he had some chance of coming into office, he took great pains to have it understood that he would go as far as Guizot in maintaining friendly relations with England, but he has now changed his note, and the language he now holds is that it may be advisable to keep on friendly terms with England, but not on better terms than with the other Great Powers of Europe. That England is the natural enemy of France, and that the system now pursuing would, in the event of war, involve her not only with England, but with all the Continental Powers. This, he says, must sooner or later happen and is entirely to be attributed to the baneful policy pursued by M. Guizot.

November 30.—I had a conversation with Guizot this evening relative to the appointment of Polk[1] to the Presidency of the United States. He said he considered it on all accounts to be unfortunate, but particularly so with reference to the question of Texas. Upon my observing that Santa Anna[2] seemed to be making preparations for the re-conquest of Texas, he said that this was the worst thing that could happen for that it would be more likely than anything else to lead the Texans to consent to the annexation of their country to the United States. That in his opinion the Governments of Great Britain and France ought to begin with Mexico and to endeavour to prevail upon Santa Anna to relinquish this enterprise, for that if the Texans were desirous of seeking the union of their country with the United States, it would be very difficult for England and France to prevent it. That the French Government would cordially join with England in any measures she might adopt in Mexico, but that England had more influence with that Government than France, for that France had many grievances for which she was seeking redress from Santa Anna. Generally speaking, England, having large possessions in America, had a greater interest in the question of Texas than France. I observed upon this: "You would, however, make common cause with us?" He answered "Undoubtedly. I do not say that if you thought it a question to go to war upon we should go to that length for the very reason which I have just stated, that we have not the same interest in it that you have." I observed that the President of

[1] James Knox Polk, eleventh President of the United States.
[2] President of Mexico.

Texas was against the annexation to the American Union. He said that he understood so likewise, and for that very reason it was desirable to prevent any hostile attack on the part of Mexico.

King, the American Minister at this Court, is of opinion that if Clay had been elected President he would have been for uniting Texas to the Union, and that Polk will have more difficulty than Clay would have had since the Senate is particularly opposed to union.

Guizot told me confidentially that he believed the King of Naples had determined upon moving the Count of Trapani from Rome and that he looked upon this as the first step to the settlement of the marriage with Queen Isabella.

December 4.—M. Guizot spoke to me lately about the mission of the Vicomte d'Abrantes to London. It would appear that the Brazilian Government have proposed that England and France should undertake an armed mediation in the River Plate,[1] which, with the assistance of the Brazilian Government, cannot, in the opinion of that Government, fail to put an end to the destructive warfare carrying on between Buenos Ayres and Montevideo. The Vicomte d'Abrantes is coming to Paris, and Lord Aberdeen has advised him to communicate with the French Government upon the subject. M. Guizot desired me to inform His Lordship that he was willing to join him in any course which he might think to be advisable.

December 8.—Guizot spoke to me lately of the intention of the King of Prussia to give a constitution to Prussia. The King mentioned his intention to Metternich, who endeavoured to dissuade him from it, but without success. The constitution was prepared by the King himself, assisted by Rodotsky and by the Prussian Minister at Vienna. The Projet was submitted to Metternich, who inserted in it modifications which would have rendered it a dead letter.

It is supposed that the King will persist in his intention, and

[1] River Plate, United Provinces of; now the Argentine Republic. The greater number of the Provinces united and established their independence from Spain in 1811, a republic was declared, but continued to be torn by the struggles of the rival factions—Federalist and Unitarian. At this date (1844) the Republic was involved in a war with the Unitarian Party in Monte Video, and was ruled by the tyrannical Dictator of Buenos Ayres, Juan Manuel de Rosas, chief of the Federalist Party.

Guizot is apprehensive that if it is carried into effect it will do much mischief and occasion great excitement in the other German States.

December 21.—I spoke to Guizot to-day about the Protectorate of the Gambier and Wallis Islands, adding that we had an interest in the Navigator Islands, where many of our countrymen were established. He said that it was true that they had accepted the Protectorate of the Gambiers about the same time with that of Tahiti, because they were in the vicinity of the Society Islands, but he knew nothing with regard to the Wallis Islands, and if their Agent who, in fact, was not a Consul, had established the French Protectorate in those Islands, he would be disavowed, and that I might be assured they would not accept it. With regard to the Navigator Islands they had no motion of establishing themselves and I might also be assured that our other possessions would not be interfered with.

I then shewed him Lord Aberdeen's dispatch and the project of a Treaty with the Government of the Sandwich Islands. He begged to have a copy of it and said he would immediately bring it under the consideration of the Council, as also the projected mediation between the Belligerents in the River Plate. He laid great stress upon the importance of having two Commanders in the River Plate, who should perfectly understand each other and act cordially in concert in the delicate service which was to be entrusted to them.

December 31.—This year has been an eventful one. The Tahiti and Moroccan questions have nearly involved us in a war, and I do believe that if Guizot's rivals Thiers and Molé had been at the head of affairs a rupture would have been unavoidable.

I am sanguine in the belief that when he comes to explain and to justify his policy in the Tribune he will be strongly supported. If not, he will retire with credit to himself, with an unblemished character and with the consciousness of having done his duty by his country. I have no notion that he can be long out of office, for he is certainly in all respects the most powerful man in the Country, and his integrity and disinterestedness are generally admitted even by his enemies.

January 8, 1845.—I have received a paper giving an account of

a conversation which passed between the King and Guizot, which completely lays open the causes which led to the late crisis which was so near being fatal to the existence of the present Government.

It appears that on the day when the Session was opened the King, after delivering the speech from the Throne, returned to the Tuileries much dissatisfied with the reception he had met with from the Chamber of Deputies. That upon his return he inveighed in no measured terms against his Ministers, against M. Guizot in particular, imputing the coldness with which he had been received to omissions in the speech and to its being ill drawn up. The room was full of individuals attached to the Court, many of whom are friends of Count Molé, and the King seemed to be so dissatisfied with his Ministers that these persons were induced, upon a ballot for a Vice-President, to vote against the Government Candidate, and the vote led to a belief that His Majesty was resolved to change his Government, and the intrigues therefore on the part of Count Molé and his friends became more active. M. Thiers was consulted and gave assurances that he had no wish to form a part of a new Government, but that he would desire his friends to support Count Molé.

The King, however, soon saw his error, expressed his disapprobation of the vote given by the persons employed about the Court, and on the last day of the year had an interview with Guizot.

January 12.—I received yesterday Lord Aberdeen's despatch concerning the acquiescence of Her Majesty's Government in the proposal of the French Government that a commission should be appointed for the purpose of taking into consideration the question of the right of search, for the purpose of ascertaining whether some other means less objectionable to France and equally conducive to the suppression of the traffic in slaves might not be resorted to. In the course of the day I delivered a copy of this despatch to M. Guizot, who expressed in warm terms his own satisfaction as well as that which would be felt by the King at the consent of Her Majesty's Government to the French proposal.

The Duc de Broglie will be the Head Commissioner to act on the part of France; the other French Commissioner has not yet been named.

There can be no doubt that the appointment of this Commission will be of the greatest service to Guizot in both Chambers, and it has just arrived in time to be announced in the discussion

upon the right of search which will no doubt be commenced in the Chamber of Peers forthwith. It will deprive the Opposition of one of the most powerful subjects upon which they proposed to attack the Government.

January 14.—I dined yesterday at Guizot's. Molé had attacked him in the debate in the Chamber of Peers upon the Address, and he made a most triumphant reply. The debate will be continued to-day.

After dinner we had a conference upon the proposed armed mediation in the River Plate, at which were present Guizot, Admiral Mackau, the Vicomte d'Abrantes, Ousely and myself. Guizot opened by stating that the Mediation was to be purely naval, that he would not consent to employ troops on shore, and he appealed to me as to whether that was not the opinion of my Government. I answered that it certainly was, for that we had some experience as to the employment of troops at such a distance.

The opinion of the Vicomte d'Abrantes was then asked. He said he came there merely as a proposer of the armed Mediation, but not as a Negociator, that the negociation between the three Powers must be carried on at Rio de Janeiro. That as his opinion was asked, however, he had no objection to giving it. He thought that no armed mediation would be of any avail unless troops were engaged and we were prepared to act by land as well as by sea. That Rosas [1] would laugh at a mere naval demonstration, and that if we were not prepared to show that we were in earnest and determined to act by land as well as by sea, we should do much better to interfere by amicable means and not attempt to threaten him, for that our threats would not intimidate him.

After much discussion it was agreed that the safest course would be to endeavour first to arrange the differences between Buenos Ayres and Monte Video by amicable mediation, and if Rosas should reject these overtures, then to compel Oribe [2] to retire from before Monte Video, so that the peaceful people who had left the town could return and such a Government be formed as would remove all grounds for complaint or dissatisfaction from Rosas. If, after this, he should continue inexorable, Buenos Ayres might

[1] *See* note, p. 292.

[2] Manuel Oribe. Uruguayan general and politician. Sometime President, Partisan of Rosas.

be blockaded and the River occupied by Armed Steamers so as to prevent the transport of troops.

All this Admiral Mackau, who is perfectly acquainted with the locale, said would be quite practicable.

January 26.—Our two Governments are prepared to act together in the proposed armed mediation in the River Plate, and also in endeavouring to secure the independence of Texas. These are two very important questions, and even supposing that a new Government were to be favourable to the entente cordiale, much valuable time would be lost upon these questions were the present Government to be compelled to resign.

January 28.—The amendment relative to the proposed indemnity to Mr. Pritchard was thrown out yesterday by a majority of eight votes. The Opposition afterwards withdrew all their amendments, and the Address was passed by a majority of 216 to 33, most of the Opposition Members having declined voting. They affect to consider the small majority on the subject of Pritchard as decisive of the fate of the Government, and that Guizot and his colleagues must necessarily resign. When I saw Guizot yesterday evening after the Session he seemed to have no such intention and was not at all depressed.

The aspect of affairs is very singular. With respect to Pritchard there is not a Deputy in the Chamber who attaches the least importance to his being indemnified or not. The prevailing feeling is one of bitter disappointment at having failed upon this occasion to overturn Guizot, of which they entertained no doubt. Another singular circumstance is this—that while the Opposition is loud in their abuse of England there is not one of their leaders who does not admit the importance of maintaining a good understanding with England. In the course of this Crise Ministérielle I have received assurances, as I believe, from high authority, that any change in the Government would make no difference in the maintenance of the same cordial relations with Great Britain—that the best understanding with us would be as much cultivated by M. Molé or Thiers as by M. Guizot. But even admitting these professions to be true, I should consider any change at the present moment a serious disaster. But what is to become of our joint negociations in Texas and in the River Plate. We should have all the work

to do over again, and the question relating to Texas would probably be lost before we could obtain the acquiescence of a new Government in our views, even supposing that they should see this matter in the same light with ourselves. Then again it may be depended upon that any change would be considered by the Agents of France in different quarters as hostile to the good understanding with England, which could not fail to give rise to a renewal of their intrigue against our Agents and to be productive of much mischief. In my own particular case I should be very sorry if Guizot should retire from office, for he has a plain, straightforward way of doing business very unlike any other Frenchman I have worked with—and what he once promises may be relied upon, as in the case of Tahiti and of Morocco. He from the first said what he would do and adhered to it throughout.

January 29.—I had a conversation this evening with Guizot upon the subject of Texas. He declines joining in the declaration proposed by Lord Aberdeen for the following reasons. The French Agent at Texas informs him that he has reason for believing that Mr. Jones, the President, is not to be trusted, that he is tampering with the Government of the United States. Then the situation of Santa Anna in Mexico is so precarious as to render his proposal to treat for the independence of Texas of much less value than it would otherwise be. Upon the whole, therefore, M. Guizot said he was of opinion that for the present it would be undesirable to go beyond the instructions already given to the French and British Agents in Texas. If the answer to those instructions were favorable to the views of the two Governments it might then be proper to propose the declaration in question.

Upon my hinting that he had changed his first opinions upon this matter, he replied that he certainly had upon further consideration and after consulting his colleagues.

I then asked whether he would have any objection to giving a discretionary power to our Agents in Texas to bring forward the declaration should they deem it advisable so to do. He answered that he was decidedly of opinion it would be better to await the answer of the Agents to the instructions which with they had been furnished before taking any further steps in the affair.

February 6.—Since writing my despatch to Lord Aberdeen

announcing the refusal of the French Government to join in the declaration proposed by His Lordship relative to Texas, I have learnt that the French Minister at Washington (M. Pageot) has recommended that no steps should be taken at present to prevent the annexation of Texas to the United States, because the new President is endeavouring to postpone the question of annexation for fear of losing the support of a Party upon whose support he calculated. M. Guizot is therefore of opinion that no more decisive steps should be taken than those already resorted to. I believe also that he is desirous that the joint representations of the two Governments in Texas and in the River Plate should be carried on simultaneously in order to save himself from the charge of attending solely to British interests, the independence of Texas being of much greater importance to Great Britain than to France. . . .

An article appeared in the *Journal des Débats* two days ago which I have sent to Lord Aberdeen, and which is worthy of the attention of Her Majesty's Government. It speaks of the certain annexation of Texas to the United States notwithstanding the opposition of Great Britain, without noticing any opposition on the part of France—and while dwelling upon the ambitious projects of the United States asserts that France alone may view them with indifference and with perfect security, since ancient sympathy and reciprocal interests unite the two countries by a double tie, and that in a political as well as in a commercial sense America is the best ally of France.

Monsieur Guizot has frequently told me that he is in no way responsible for the Articles which may appear in the *Journal des Débats*. I shall take an early opportunity of calling his attention to this Article, and if it is inserted with his knowledge and sanction it has very much the appearance of his desire to back out of his engagements with Her Majesty's Government with respect to Texas.

February 8.—Guizot called upon me this morning and I had a satisfactory conversation with him on the subject of Texas. He entirely disapproved the article in the *Journal des Débats* of the 4th instant, said it was drawn up according to the old policy of France which was to side upon all occasions with America, particularly in anything which was contrary to the interest or wishes of Great Britain, that he knew he would have much obloquy to

bear in departing from this policy, but nevertheless he was acting according to the better interests of France in acting in concert with Great Britain for the purpose of opposing the encroachments of the United States.

Upon my enquiring of him what were M. Pageot's opinions relative to Texas, he said that they were the same as those of Mr. Pakenham.

February 20.—The Government are much occupied with the state of affairs in Switzerland—an insurrection has broken out at Lausanne which seems likely to spread. The accounts received by the Government state that the disorders were fomented and encouraged by the Radicals of Bern who parade the town of Lausanne singing the revolutionary songs in vogue in the worst times of the French Revolution, and inveighing against Aristocrats and Individuals possessed of wealth, and that the cry against the Jesuits is a mere pretext, the object being to overturn the existing order of things and to place the power in the hands of the Radicals.

February 23.—Having been informed that a letter had been seen from the Duc de Montebello stating that he had every prospect of bringing the negociations for the marriage between the Comte de Trapani and the Queen of Spain to a favorable issue, and that he had learnt from Count Bresson that his prospects were equally favorable, I took an opportunity of enquiring lately of M. Guizot how this matter stood, when he told me that for some time no progress had been made in the negociations either in Naples or in Madrid, nor could there be any advance to a conclusion until the King of Naples had recalled his brother from the Convent at Rome. The same remark was made by the King in the course of the last conversation with which I was honoured by His Majesty.

All this was confirmed to me by the Neapolitan Chargé d'Affaires at this Court, who says that the King is desirous of the marriage but will take no step to forward it until some overture is made from Madrid, and upon the other hand the authorities at Madrid will do nothing until Trapani is recalled from the Convent, as they cannot sanction a marriage with a Prince who is shut up in a Convent of Jesuits.

March 13.—I had yesterday a visit from the new Chargé d'Affaires

from Texas. He came to complain of the conduct of the French Government towards him. Upon his arrival about a month ago he presented himself to M. Guizot and delivered his credentials. The Minister told him that he could not enter upon business with him until he, the Chargé d'Affaires, had seen the King. No further notice has been taken of him, although he has presented himself several times at the Foreign Office, neither has he seen the King. He contrasted this conduct with the treatment he had been accorded by Lord Aberdeen, of which he spoke in the highest terms, and he ended by saying that he could no longer submit to being ignored, and he read me a note complaining in no very measured terms of the treatment he had received and declaring his intention of withdrawing from Paris. He had before told me that the authorities of Texas were decidedly opposed to the annexation to the United States, but that four-fifths of the people were in favour of it; still, with the support of Great Britain and of France, they should be able to resist it.

I then advised him by no means to think of presenting his note, for that such a step would produce a misunderstanding which would contribute more than anything else to strengthen the party in Texas who wished for the annexation, and I promised that I would at once speak to Guizot upon the subject.

In the evening I went to the Tuileries and I asked the King whether he had seen the Texan Chargé d'Affaires. He answered that he had not, and that he did not know he was in Paris. M. Guizot had never announced his arrival—so that he has been a month without any notice being taken of him.

He told me that the American Minister (King) who is a friend of his, said he would not easily prevail upon the King and his Ministers to interfere in the affairs of Texas. That he had signified to the French Government that the joint efforts of Great Britain and France to prevent it would be considered by the Government of the United States as an unwarrantable interference.

March 18.—I went to the Tuileries last night to present Lord Plunket and his son. . . . His Majesty told me that he was to receive the Chargé d'Affaires of Texas to-day. He spoke with embarrassment about Texas, and it is evident to me that he would be glad to back out of that affair, although he is aware of the importance of securing the independence of Texas, but is fearful of giving offence

and placing himself upon a bad footing with the United States. In short he is hampered by the old policy of France, which was to side with the United States in all differences between them and Great Britain. I do not therefore expect much from the co-operation of France with us in the Texas affair.

It is a curious circumstance that Messieurs Guizot and Thiers met accidentally at Madame de Lieven's two days ago, and had much conversation upon public affairs. Thiers laughed at the idea of Molé's turning out Guizot, and said that for his own part he had no wish to come into office as his whole time was taken up with his work, of which the three first volumes have appeared. Besides, he said, he was ten years younger than Guizot and could therefore afford to wait—and that the King was so false that he did not want to serve during his reign.

March 30.—I showed Guizot Lord Aberdeen's despatch enclosing a note from the Spanish Minister announcing the intention of his Government to send a frigate and a brig to the River Plate. Bresson writes word that he has been asked whether the French Government would have any objection to their joining our squadron as we had admitted that from Brazil. Guizot has desired him not to give encouragement to any such plan.

I afterwards touched upon the Texas affair, upon which he said it was impossible to promise any settlement until more light was thrown upon the situation of Mexico in consequence of the demand of the Government of the United States for the annexation. He thought it not unlikely that the Mexican Government might be brought to acquiesce in it provided the United States would pay high. He doubted whether any resistance would be made from Texas. . . .

He told me that the King and Queen of Naples with the Queen Dowager were gone to Rome and that Count Trapani would return with them to Naples, and that this was a step towards the accomplishment of the projected marriage.

April 8.—It seems that Count Trapani is returned to Naples with the King and Queen, and the marriage with the Queen of Spain is now likely to take place. Narvaez has written to Bresson to say that the Queen is willing to close with this marriage, which is supposed, however, to be very unpopular at Madrid. The Infant Don Francisco has likewise proposed for the sister of the King of

Naples and will be accepted. This double connection between Spain and Naples is viewed with much displeasure by the Austrian Cabinet, and as it is considered to be the work of France, may in some measure account for Prince Metternich's disinclination to concert any measures with the French Government for restoring tranquillity to Switzerland.

The Chamber of Peers are at present engaged in the discussions relative to the Colonies. The King is much opposed to the measures of emancipation in contemplation, which he is of opinion will be the total ruin of the Colonies.

April 16.—Accounts have been received that the Princess of Beira is dangerously ill at Bourges. Physicians have been sent from Paris to attend her Royal Highness, but her life is stated to be in danger. Her death would probably make a change in Don Carlos's views in Spain, and might lead to overtures for the marriage of his son with the Queen. The Princess has always been opposed to Don Carlos's abdication, and to the marriage of the son to the Queen upon any other conditions than those of equal rights of Sovereignty.

Guizot has received despatches from Naples to the following purpose. The Comte de Trapani is very happy at having been removed from the Convent at Rome; he is good-looking, and is sensible, but awkward in his address. The King has given him the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army and has appointed him his Aide-de-Camp and has likewise allowed him, with a view to his improvement, to assist at the Council. He is to remain at Naples for three or four months and then to proceed to Spain. According to the reports of M. Bresson, Queen Isabella is impatient for his arrival at Madrid, but M. Guizot is anxious that he should visit London and Paris before proceeding to the Spanish Capital.

I am tormented with demands for information respecting the guilt of Mazzini[1] of whose guilt there can be no doubt, but of which there is no legal proof. The fact is that the absurd repeal of the Alien Bill has made England the asylum of all conspirators against other countries. At the revolution which placed Louis-Philippe upon the Throne of France, the revolutionary spirit prevailing in France spread itself into Italy. Revolutionary movements

[1] Italian patriot and revolutionary, at this time living in London and suspected of being implicated in attempts on the life of Louis-Philippe.

took place in the Papal territories, and but for the foresight, activity and spirit of the Austrians, a revolutionary war would have spread all over Italy, and probably over the rest of Europe. The Ringleaders, upon their designs being detected, in order to escape punishment repaired to England, whence they carry on their machinations against the Continental Governments. No surveillance is maintained over them, witness the expedition to Boulogne which was planned and carried out without the knowledge of the Government. Now it is, in my opinion, the bounden duty of the Government to exercise a strict surveillance over the Refugees of whatever nation they may be, whether Italians, Poles or Germans, and since they cannot be sent out of the Country, to counteract their schemes in every possible way.

April 17.—I called upon Guizot this evening and showed him Lord Aberdeen's despatch received this morning on the subject of the recognition of Texas, observing that there appeared now to be a disposition in the Mexican Government to acknowledge the independence of the Country, on the part of Texas to reject the conditions attached by the Government of the United States to the annexation, and that the Mexican Minister in Washington, upon hearing of the resolution of the Congress on the subject of Texas, had asked for his passports, and was hastening back to Mexico with the intention of urging his Government to acknowledge the independence of Texas.

M. Guizot, after reading the despatch of Lord Aberdeen with attention, said that the question had become a little more difficult by the fact of the Congress having passed a resolution for the annexation, that as far as his opinion was concerned he was disposed to act in conformity with the opinions of the British Government. That the King was at the moment at the Château d'Eu, but that upon his return he would bring the subject under the consideration of the Council, for which purpose he begged to have copies of the papers I had shewn him. That he proposed to summon the Council on Sunday, and that he must defer giving me a definitive answer until after the meeting. I observed that with respect to the declaration which had before been submitted to him, Her Majesty's Government were prepared to acquiesce in any modification of it he might suggest. I also observed that whatever was done should be done immediately, and he assured me that no time should be lost.

I confess, however, that I am not very sanguine as to the result of this overture. There is great apprehension of doing anything which may give cause of offence to the United States, not so much from apprehension of a quarrel with them, as of a handle it would give to their enemies here of attacking them for departing from the old policy of France in order to favour a British Interest.

I informed Guizot that Her Majesty's Government had consented to the alteration in the Treaty with the Sandwich Islands, at which he expressed his satisfaction.

April 27.—Guizot has had a severe attack of illness and has asked the King's permission to retire from the administration of public affairs for a short time, and has proposed that in the interim M. Duchatel should take charge of the Foreign Department. The King acquiesced in this proposal with expressions of much kindness towards M. Guizot, and of a sincere hope that he would soon be restored to health. M. Guizot will establish himself in a country house near Paris, reserving to himself the conduct of the negociations at Rome of the Neapolitan marriage, and of the Duc de Broglie's negociations in London. This arrangement is not agreeable to Marshal Soult, who wished himself to be charged with the business of the Foreign Department during the retirement of Guizot.

Guizot sent me a message last night to say that I need be under no anxiety respecting the Texas affair—that it would be brought before the Council to-day and that Lord Aberdeen's proposal would be agreed to, and instructions for the Agents at Texas and at Mexico forwarded to M. de St. Aulaire.

April 28.—I went last night to the Tuileries and had a long conversation with the King. He began by lamenting the illness of M. Guizot which, although painful and harassing, was not dangerous, but the state of his health required repose and he had therefore willingly consented to his wish to withdraw himself from business for some weeks. He spoke in the highest terms of him. . . .

May 13.—Guizot has received intelligence from the French Chargé d'Affaires at Texas, of the date of the 1st of April, in which he states that, having accompanied the British Chargé d'Affaires from Washington to los Brasos, they had signed with General Houston to a Convention dated the 28th of March by which the President engaged to come to no conclusion with the United States during

a term of ninety days, and to delay until then the Convocation of the National Assembly upon the condition that the unconditional acknowledgement of the independence of Texas should be forthwith obtained from Mexico. That for the present there should be no negociations for the settlement of the boundary between Mexico and Texas, and that this should be hereafter settled by the Arbitration of Great Britain and France.

The British Chargé d'Affaires had set out secretly for Mexico for the purpose of hastening the acknowledgement of the independence of Texas by Mexico.

May 17.—We dined yesterday with the Préfet de Police, M. Delessert. After dinner he produced from the Archives of the Police some very curious documents relative to the reign of terror, and particularly to the massacres in the early days of September 1792. All the victims seem to have been subjected to a sort of trial, the proceedings being recorded in a book and opposite to it "jugement du Peuple la mort," which was immediately carried into execution. These records seem to have been written on the spot and the book is covered with the marks of bloody fingers. In this book are summaries of the trial and execution of the King, the Queen, Madame Elizabeth, who is styled "la sœur du tyran" and of Egalité, the father of Louis-Philippe.

Among the Archives are accounts of the gratifications and pensions given to different individuals belonging to the Courts of Louis the 14th, 15th and 16th, and amounting to immense sums.

May 28.—The Opposition journals have availed themselves of the refusal of the Emperor of Morocco to ratify the Treaty of Commerce and demarcation, and also of the late news from Tahiti, to renew their attacks upon the Government. They also, as usual, accuse the English of being the cause of what has happened at Morocco . . . by the pernicious advice they have given the Emperor. The principal object of these attacks is to counteract the good effect which may be produced by the doing away with the right of search—but the truth is it is useless to expect by any concession or by any effort of any kind to get the better of the animosity prevailing in this country against England, and arising entirely from wounded vanity and jealousy of our superiority. The experience of four years has convinced me that these feelings

are not to be overcome, and that sooner or later we must come to blows. This was very near happening last year on account of the Pritchard affair, and may happen again upon any similar occurrence. The King's death would inevitably put an end to the entente cordiale, and it behoves us to profit by the present time to put ourselves in a condition to carry on a war with effect whenever we may be called upon so to do.

I was sorry to hear from Lord Charles Hervey, who has been residing for some months at Malta, that the fortifications of that important station are in such a state of dilapidation, and the garrison so weak and so unequal to its defence, that it might easily be taken by a *coup de main*. This is shameful neglect, particularly when it is considered that our retention of Malta was the principal cause of the renewal of the war in 1802. It would cost £200,000 to put the fortifications in a decent state of repair. Whenever War occurs the great object of the French will be to attack our coasts by means of their steam force.

May 31.—Intelligence has been received of the abdication of Don Carlos of his rights to the Throne of Spain in favour of his son, who has accepted the Sovereignty and has addressed a manifesto to the Spanish People declaring that he has no intention of renewing the Civil War but is willing to put an end to all dissension by amicable means, meaning, I suppose, by a marriage with the Queen upon equal rights of sovereignty. This, however, will not succeed.

June 1.—I understand the three Representatives of Austria, Russia and Prussia have interpreted Don Carlos's letter addressed to their respective Sovereigns as "Monsieur mon frère" as announcing his abdication in favour of his son, *ad referendum*, not knowing whether their Sovereigns, never having acknowledged him as King of Spain, will consent to receive his letters. I refused to receive from the Marquis de Villa Franca that addressed to the Queen as "Madame ma sœur," without the proof that we had acknowledged the Queen Isabella and that a Minister resided in Spain. It would not surprise me if this abdication of Don Carlos were the signal for a general rising of Carlists in Spain.

June 22.—Apponyi called upon me just now and said that he had received letters from Prince Metternich approving of the abdication

of Don Carlos and of the manifesto of his son addressed to the Spanish Nation. He thought that the son should do nothing more, but trust to the course of events.

June 24.—There has been another sharp discussion in the Chamber of Deputies upon the affairs of Tahiti, in which the Government is blamed for their pusillanimity in suffering Queen Pomaré to treat the King of the French with contempt in refusing to hold any communication with Admiral Hamelin excepting in the presence of the British Admiral, and in declining the invitation of the French Authorities to return to Tahiti. M. Billault attacked the Government on this occasion.

July 2.—I had a long conversation yesterday with Guizot upon the subject of the affairs of Tahiti, in consequence of a despatch received from Lord Aberdeen, which I communicated to him. He dwelt much upon the necessity of giving Exequaturs to the Consuls, and in reply to Lord Aberdeen's complaints of the continued residence of M. Maverlost upon the Island, said that he had apprised him a fortnight ago of his having been appointed Consul at California. This, however, as I observed to him, was no excuse for having kept him more than a twelvemonth upon the Island after promising to remove him thence. He then renewed the charges against Consul General Miller of having encouraged the Malcontents in the Island in their resistance to the French Authority. I answered that I really could not give any credit to these accusations, that it appeared to me to be impossible that a gentleman who had been selected for this important situation for his experience and prudence should pursue a line of conduct directly opposed to his instructions, which were to use his utmost endeavours to maintain a good understanding with the French Authorities and to induce the Natives to submit to their authority.

We afterwards talked of the abdication of Don Carlos, and he shewed me a letter from M. Simon who had been sent to Bourges with the passports. He writes that Don Carlos expressed his regret at the passports not having been worded so as to enable him to cross the frontier, should he think proper to do so. He was much struck in the alteration of the appearance of the Princess of Beira and also in her manner, which was much more subdued than formerly. He also visited the Infant Don Charles Louis, who expressed

no regret at being left behind at Bourges, and betrayed no symptom of an inclination to a more active life than he had before pursued.

July 15.—I had yesterday a conversation with Guizot upon the subject of their recent occupation of certain points upon the West Coast of Africa, upon which we had before had discussions, the Chiefs of the Galoon having represented to Commodore Jones, commanding upon the station, that their country had been obtained from them by a most fraudulent proceeding, since they had been made to sign a document which they were told was a mere act of amity towards the King of the French, while in fact it was a cession of their country. M. Guizot, after reading the note which I presented him upon this subject, by order of Lord Aberdeen, said he did not suppose we assumed the right of objecting to the French establishing themselves upon that coast. I answered certainly not, provided our influence was not interfered with, but that for more than two centuries we had been connected with these chiefs, that in fact the only foreign language they spoke was English. That they had solicited our good offices with the French Government in order to show that this Treaty of Cession had been fraudulently obtained from them, which certainly seemed to be the case from the report of Commodore Jones who had been sent to enquire into the affair, and that His Majesty's Government felt it to be an act of friendship to the Government of France to lay the matter before them, being certain that they would not willingly sanction an act of injustice. M. Guizot said that this question had already undergone a full interrogation, that the French reported that the Native Chiefs were perfectly aware of what they were doing, and that he could not well see how the subject could be renewed, but that he would take the Commodore's report, which I put into his hands, into consideration.

I took the opportunity of observing to him that we were now on the eve of a great experiment arising out of the new Convention for establishing more effectual means of suppressing the traffic in Slaves. That for this purpose both Governments were preparing considerable armaments for the service upon the African Coast, which were to act in strict concert, and that it was essential to their success that the most cordial understanding should be maintained between the two services. Our great object should therefore be to begin

by providing against everything which might furnish ground for dispute or dissension between the two services.

The question of the Galoon, for instance, should be settled in such a manner as would satisfy the Chiefs and secure our commerce from any vexatious interruption. It would also be desirable that the projected measure relating to Albreda should be finally settled previous to the new arrangement for the suppression of the Slave Trade being entered upon. M. Guizot entirely concurred with me in this opinion. As to the Galoon, he said I might rest assured that our trade would in no way be molested or interfered with by the establishment of the French in those parts—and that as for Albreda he proposed to enter upon that matter during the recess with a view to an arrangement which should be satisfactory to both Governments.

July 20.—I have had another conversation with Guizot relative to the transactions at Tahiti. He reported that the Protectorate which had been extended over the three Islands had been withdrawn from two of them upon the representations of Queen Pomaré, and that the instructions to refrain from extending the French Protectorate over these Islands could not as yet have been received. There is a bad spirit prevailing between both services at Tahiti.

There is a report that the Duc de Rianzares (Mũnoz) is charged with exertions for a marriage between the sister of Queen Isabella and the Duc de Montpensier. I know not from what source this intelligence is derived, but there is no doubt that King Louis-Philippe has long had this marriage in contemplation, though he has been very careful not to speak of it, nor can it, I imagine, be brought forward until the Queen's marriage is finally settled.

September 11.—I have been absent from Paris for five weeks during which period my journal has been discontinued, nothing material having occurred. I went to England for a few days, first to Walmer and afterwards to London. I found the Duke of Wellington much disturbed at the unprepared state of the country in the event of a War, upon which he had made the most urgent representations to the Government. Upon my arrival in London I called upon Sir James Graham, who was the only Minister in Town. He said that he had given the most serious attention to the representations of the Duke, that he fully agreed with him in everything he

had stated as to the necessity of not losing any time in putting the Country in a proper state of defence, and that he had reason to believe that Sir Robert Peel concurred entirely in this opinion. That it was the intention of the Government to call out the local Militia, which would give a force of seventy-five thousand men for Great Britain, that the question relating to Ireland was more difficult but equally required to be attended to. He then asked me whether I thought the French had sufficient strength in steamers to embark thirty-five thousand men with a view to making a sudden attack on our Coasts. I answered that I had no doubt they had, and that it might be depended upon that this would be their object in the event of a war. That as long as the King lived we should probably remain at peace, but that there was no saying what might happen after his death. I then mentioned the state of our possessions in the Mediterranean, the weakness of our force there, the dilapidated state of the fortifications of Malta, the insufficiency of the Garrison and that it might at any time be taken by a coup de main. That the French had a great preponderance in these seas and were making great efforts to increase it.

Sir James, said that upon the Duke's representations, Gibraltar had been placed in an efficient state, but that he was afraid this could not be said of Malta. I observed that a large sum had been voted by Parliament for the repairs of the fortifications at Malta. This, he said, was true, but that nothing had as yet been done there, that he would, however, take care that the attention of the Government should be called to the necessity of prompt measures being adopted for placing that Island in a proper state of defence.

He then spoke of our fleets, saying that in the event of a war sail of the line might be in a condition to proceed to sea in three weeks, provided a sufficient number of men could be procured to man them. That eight sail of the line were to be provided with steam screws, two to be placed in each of the principal ports ready to act as occasion might require.

I reported this conversation to the Duke upon my return to Walmer and he was much gratified by it.

September 15.—A very offensive letter has appeared in the *Journal des Débats* on the subject of the Queen's visit to Germany, offensive both to the King of Prussia and to Queen Victoria. Upon my mentioning the subject to Guizot he said that he was as much

concerned as I could be at the publication of such a letter, but that I well knew that the Government had no effective control over the *Journal des Débats*, though this is the paper upon which they principally rely for their support from the public.

September 20.—All the accounts from Germany are full of complaints of the Queen's behaviour upon her visit to Germany. Upon her arrival at Cologne she took offence at the *pas* having been given to the Arch-Duke in preference to Prince Albert, the Queen of Prussia having taken the arm of the Arch-Duke. The Queen in consequence refused to dine in public that day, and the King of Prussia put off the dinner which was to have consisted of one hundred and sixty guests. Her Majesty's conduct during the whole of her visit to the King of Prussia was equally ungracious and offended everybody—and her meanness in money matters has made her the general theme of contempt and censure. Prince Albert and his suite at the review appeared in plain clothes, upon the pretext that they had not brought their uniforms with them. It is to be apprehended that this Royal visit will not contribute to make us more popular in Germany. As a contrast to the parsimony of the English Sovereign, the Empress of Russia is expressly enjoined by the Emperor, during her residence abroad, to spend fifty thousand pounds a month. Her Britannic Majesty had better stay at home than have these displays of ill-temper and parsimony in a foreign land. At the Château d'Eu, however, she was quite couleur de Rose—nothing but cheerfulness, amiability and graciousness.

October 16.—The affairs of Morocco are assuming a very serious aspect. The French have determined upon entering the Morocco Territory in pursuit of Abd-el-Kader. It is to be proposed to the Emperor to join his forces to those of France in this enterprise. If he refuses Marshal Bugeaud is to proceed with the French alone. . . . We have, I think, shown too great a readiness to sanction this violation of territory on the part of France, and should their navy be employed and any of the Morocco ports be taken possession of, we shall be great sufferers.

The news from the River Plate is also unsatisfactory. Rosas has declined our mediation, and we have proceeded to act by taking possession of the Argentine Squadron, and adopted the

necessary measures to compel Oribe to raise the siege of Montevideo. The Minister of Marine told me last night that he had still hopes that Rosas would come into our measures and that he only holds out in order to convince the Chambers that he had done everything that depended upon him to avoid this interference, but that if he persisted in his present determination and retired into the interior, our situation would become very embarrassing.

Brazil has declined to act with us, which is extraordinary after the language held by the Vicomte d'Abrantes at the conferences which took place last year at Paris.

It seems that my suspicions as to the object of Count Lebzeltern's visit to Paris were well founded. He has been in communication with the son of Don Carlos, who has been acting according to his advice. He has likewise been in communication with Don Francisco and his sons, who solicited the advice of Prince Metternich as to the conduct they ought to pursue. Metternich recommended that they should put themselves into communication with the son of Don Carlos as the head of their Family, and they have done so, renouncing all intention and all pretension to the hand of the Queen. This renders her marriage with a Spanish Prince of the Bourbon line a matter of great difficulty. The country will not hear of the son of Don Carlos—the two sons of Don Francisco have agreed not to seek her hand, and as to Count Trapani, Metternich looks upon that marriage as entirely out of the question. All this is very annoying and embarrassing to France.

October 23.—Despatches lately arrived from Bresson mention that the Queen's disorder is as bad as ever—that from her shoulders to her knees she is entirely covered with the eruption. That the Infanta, her sister, has the same disorder. The people about them are anxious that they should visit Paris for the purpose of obtaining medical advice, and Bresson has written to know whether he should encourage this project. He was answered by telegraph not on any account to encourage it. Nothing certainly would be more likely to create an insurrection than the visit of the Queen and her sister to the French Capital.

November 8.—A new intrigue relating to the Queen's marriage has been discovered at Madrid at the bottom of which is the Banker——who has lately been in England. He professes to have

Francois, Roi d'Espagne.

had an interview with two of the Queen's maids and to have bribed them to indispose the Queen to a marriage with Count Trapani, describing to Her Majesty the pleasures of marriage, and representing Count Trapani as a pauvre Sire utterly incapable of contributing to them or to her comfort and happiness in any way, whereas there was another Prince, clever, handsome and in all respects a suitable match for Her Majesty. The Prince of Coburg is supposed to be the person alluded to, and an attempt is made to implicate Bulwer in this intrigue by representing him to be the intimate friend of the Banker.

The Queen, as it is stated in Bresson's letter, after passing three days in tears, sent for General Narvaez and related to him what had passed. He immediately dismissed the two waiting maids and said that his first impulse was to send the Banker——to prison, but that he was fearful that such a proceeding might revive all the scandal about Olozaga. Among other things the waiting maids represented that Queen Christina urged the marriage with Trapani, with the view of retaining the whole power of the State in her own hands.

March 28, 1846.—My journal has been suspended for several months in consequence of an accident I met with early in December, having had a serious fall in the street by which I dislocated both my shoulders. This necessarily disabled me from writing for some time, and partly from indisposition and partly from negligence I have neglected to resume it.

The affairs of Spain wear a very unpromising appearance. Narvaez's violence and overbearing manners became so disgusting to his colleagues that they occasioned the downfall of the Government. The retirement of Monsieur Mon from the Finance Department, where he had succeeded in re-establishing the finances upon a prosperous footing, was a serious calamity. A Cabinet was formed by the Marquis de Miraflores, but it soon appeared that this could not last, and accordingly, by a series of intrigues, Miraflores and his colleagues have been compelled to resign, and Narvaez is again at the head of the Government. The best of his former colleagues, however, have refused to return to office with him, and his Cabinet is for the most part composed of disreputable people. Their first act was to suspend the sittings of the Cortes and to impose restrictions upon the Press. It is probable that the Trapani marriage

will again be put in negociation, although it is so unpopular in Spain that it can hardly be undertaken with safety. The finances are again in disorder, and a general discontent seems to prevail throughout the country, which will probably sooner or later break out into open insurrection.

April 1.—Lord and Lady Palmerston are arrived at Paris. The objects of this journey are evidently to endeavour to subdue the impression prevailing here and in other parts of Europe of the mischief to be apprehended from his return to power, and is undertaken with a view of the return to power of the Whigs and to Lord Palmerston's being again at the head of the Foreign Department. He had a conversation with Guizot soon after his arrival, in which he spoke of the critical state of affairs in England, of the decomposition of Parties, of the erroneous system of finance adopted by Sir Robert Peel who had been guilty of many mistakes which might hereafter lead to great evils—in short his object seemed to be to impress upon Guizot that a change in Her Majesty's Councils might soon take place which would again bring the Whigs into power.

On the very day that this conversation took place, Guizot received a letter from Count St. Aulaire warning him not to give any credit to such promises, and assuring him that there was not the least reason for apprehending a change in the Government. It is said that Lord Lansdowne is to arrive to-day, I suppose to give countenance to Lord Palmerston. I am to present him at the Tuileries to-night.

It would appear by the accounts from Spain that affairs there are in a very critical state. Narvaez has resigned after a violent altercation with the two Queens, in the course of which he was so overcome by passion that he broke a chair while accusing the Queen Mother of ingratitude and the ruin of his fortunes, not scrupling to acknowledge his gambling in the funds. Isturiz has been directed to form a Government and insists upon the removal of Narvaez from the command of the Army and also of his removal from Madrid.

The Prince de Joinville has been appointed to the command of the Mediterranean Fleet. The Infant Don Enrique is arrived in France, but seems to be hovering about the frontier for the purpose of availing himself of any movement in his favour.

April 15.—Both the King and M. Guizot disapprove the conduct of Queen Christina with respect to General Narvaez. The King in particular is warm in his support of the General. Upon his arrival at Bayonne, Narvaez had an interview with the Infant Don Enrique, the object of which was to assure him that he had nothing to do with his being sent into exile, but that it was all done by Queen Christina. The King is anxious that Narvaez should come to Paris, in order that he may have an opportunity of conversing with him. He still thinks a Trapani marriage possible and makes light of its unpopularity in Spain.

The effort which France is making to increase her power and influence in the Mediterranean is not likely to have escaped the observation of Her Majesty's Government. Within a few months two Embassies have been sent (the one from Morocco and the other from Tunis) to the Court of the Tuileries, and Ibrahim Pasha, the son of the Viceroy of Egypt, is now at Paris upon a visit to the King. Within the same time the Duc de Montpensier has visited Constantinople, Greece, Tunis and Egypt. The Prince de Joinville is appointed to the command of the Toulon Fleet of nine sail of the line, with a proportional number of frigates and war steamers, and there can be little doubt that under that enterprising Prince it will not be allowed to remain idle. It is scarcely probable that this state of things should not create dissatisfaction among the other Powers bordering upon the Mediterranean, particularly Austria and Sardinia, who must view the increase of the power and influence of France in that sea with uneasiness and alarm.

I have reason to believe that the object of the Envoy of the Bey of Tunis is to engage the French Government to support the interest of his master at Constantinople, whose object it is to obtain the hereditary government of that Protectorate for himself and his descendants, acknowledging the Suzerainty of the Sultan.

I have already informed Lord Aberdeen that I have no reason to believe that Ibrahim Pasha is engaged in any serious negociation beyond that of having had several conferences with M. Guizot on the subject of the communication to be established between Suez and the Nile, M. Guizot having stated it to be the decided opinion of the French Government that a canal will be preferable to a railroad. The opinion of France will no doubt be enforced by Ibrahim Pasha on his return to Egypt, for he has proved his devotion to this country by his speeches and toasts at the several banquets

which have been given to him ; and certainly no pains have been spared to maintain him in this disposition. He is treated both by the King and his Ministers with far greater consideration than the Prince of Salerno, the Queen's brother, the Duc de Montpensier, being in constant attendance upon him. He has not, I believe, been visited by any of the Corps Diplomatique, certainly not by any of the Ambassadors who are entitled to receive from him the first visit, but he has not called upon any one of them. His confidential adviser is Soliman Pasha, formerly Consul in the French Service, and I believe quite devoted to the French interest in Egypt.

The Prince de Joinville is to sail immediately for Naples, where he is to endeavour to revive the negociation for the Trapani marriage in spite of all the obstacles which are opposed to this plan.

The increase of the French power and influence in the Mediterranean is hugely flattering to French vanity, and serves the pretension so often in the mouths of Frenchmen, and so repeated in their journals, that the Mediterranean ought to be a French lake.

The accounts from Portugal are rather alarming. On May 23, the insurgents were within three leagues of Lisbon, and the Duc de Palmella had been compelled to close the sittings of the Cortes. The insurgents talked of dethroning the Queen and proclaiming her eldest son with a Regency. Queen Christina and the Spanish Government are much alarmed at these proceedings.

Narvaez is coming to Paris, having been invited so to do by Guizot.

The change[1] in Her Majesty's Councils has put an end to my Embassy at this Court, and in all probability to my diplomatic career. Upon my tendering my resignation to Lord Palmerston he informed me in reply that Her Majesty's Government would have been glad to have retained me at Paris, but that Lord John Russell, from Party considerations, thought it desirable that another arrangement should take place. I can feel no regret, after what has since occurred, at being no longer in charge of Her Majesty's affairs in this country. Almost immediately after Lord Palmerston had taken possession of the Foreign Department, he addressed a despatch to Mr. Bulwer, condemning in strong terms the proceedings of the Spanish Government for the last two years, and consequently

[1] On June 29 Sir Robert Peel resigned office, and Lord John Russell formed an administration with Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary.

condemning the policy of the French Cabinet by which those measures were sanctioned and supported. Everything stated in this despatch with respect to the arbitrary proceedings of Narvaez and the Queen Christina, could not but meet with the approbation of every person having the welfare of Spain at heart. In this despatch which, in my opinion, he unnecessarily and most imprudently communicated to M. de Jarnac, to whom he even gave a copy of it, he mentions the Prince of Coburg and the sons of the Infant Don Francisco as candidates for the Queen's hand. A copy of this despatch was of course forwarded by Jarnac to Monsieur Guizot, and to this imprudent communication may be attributed everything which has since occurred to disturb the good understanding before prevailing between the two countries. . . . The communication reached Paris a few days before my relinquishment of the affairs of the Embassy. At the same time, letters were received from England from an influential person in the Government, stating it to be the intention of the Cabinet to object altogether to the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier to the Queen of Spain's sister. At an audience which I had of the King he complained in terms of great bitterness of the contents of Lord Palmerston's despatch, saying in the first place that it was evidently his intention to support all the extravagant pretensions of the Progressivist Party and to support by British influence their return to power, and secondly to break the engagements which had been taken with Lord Aberdeen at the Château d'Eu by putting forward a Prince of Coburg as a candidate for the Queen's hand. I endeavoured to show that Lord Palmerston's despatch was a mere expression of his own opinions as to what had been passing in Spain during the last two years. That there were many of the proceedings of the Government during that period which had been highly disapproved by His Majesty, that if the Prince of Coburg had been received as a candidate for the Queen's hand, it was because he had been proposed by Queen Christina and that the British Government had no concern whatever in that transaction, Bulwer refusing to have anything to do with it. Lastly, that the despatch could only be considered as conveying Lord Palmerston's sentiments, by which Bulwer was to be guided in his future proceedings, but that he was to abstain from any overture or representation which could be offensive to the Spanish Government.

I offered the same explanation to M. Guizot, but with little

success, and I am persuaded that that despatch was the immediate cause of all that has since taken place. I hear of the precipitate marriage[1] of the Queen to her cousin [Don Francisco], and of the Infanta to the Duc de Montpensier.

Several communications have passed between our Governments, relative to the Montpensier marriage, tending to widen the breach between them. We insist (founding our demand upon the renunciation of the throne of Spain by the Orleans family in the Treaty of Utrecht) that there should be a new declaration renewing this renunciation for the children of the Duc de Montpensier. This is strenuously resisted by the French Government. The three Northern Powers have, in the meanwhile, availed themselves of the misunderstanding which this marriage has occasioned between Great Britain and France, to declare Cracow to be a free city and to place it and its dependencies under the dominion of Austria. This is one of the consequences of Lord Palmerston's imprudence, for our two Governments are too much occupied by their own quarrel to make a joint effort for the purpose of preventing this infraction of the Treaty of Vienna, and consequently their single protest can have but little effect. Lord Palmerston, likewise, is endeavouring to persuade Prince Metternich to support him in Spain. The Count Montemolin[2] is now in England and, strange as it may appear, has had two confidential conferences with Lord Palmerston. The plan seems to be to obtain the restoration of Montemolin to his rights as an Infant of Spain—to endeavour to obtain the restoration of the Salic Law, leaving the Queen in possession of the throne, allowing her heirs male, if she has any, to succeed her, and afterwards Montemolin and his children. Metternich, it seems, has promised to support this plan, but it is almost incredible that it should be sanctioned by Lord Palmerston, whose whole course of proceeding during the late Civil War in Spain was strenuously and successfully directed to resist the claims of Don Carlos. If the plan is persisted in it will, in my opinion, produce a new civil war in Spain, and very probably a war between Great Britain and France. I do not wonder at Metternich's lending himself to the project, or to any other which may tend to prevent the renewal of the good understanding between Great Britain and France. In three short months, therefore, Lord Palmerston has contrived to put an end to our

[1] The double marriage took place in Madrid, on October 10, 1846.
[2] Son of Don Carlos.

alliance with France, and by so doing, to enable the three Northern Powers, in violation of the Treaty of 1815, to destroy the frontier of Cracow—a design which I believe they have always had in contemplation.

Close of Diary

1847.—After his resignation of the Embassy in June, 1846, Lord Cowley, after a short stay in England, decided to make his home in Paris, and took a house in the Place Vendôme. He did not, however, live long to enjoy his retirement. He died on April 27, 1847, in his seventy-fifth year, of inflammation of the lungs, brought on by a cold which he contracted on a journey from England a few weeks before. He was buried in the family vault in Grosvenor Chapel, South Audley Street, on May 10.

By his first wife Lord Cowley had three sons: Henry Richard Charles, who succeeded him at the Paris Embassy in 1852 and was made Earl Cowley in 1857; William Henry George; Gerald Valerian, who became Dean of Windsor and domestic chaplain to Queen Victoria; and one daughter, Charlotte Arbuthnot, who married the first Lord Ebury.

By his second wife he had one daughter, Georgiana Charlotte Mary, who married Lord Dalling.

The following passage from *Links with the Past*, by Mrs. Charles Bagot, throws an interesting light on the situation in France during the last year of Lord Cowley's occupancy of the Paris Embassy.

"Lord Cowley, the Duke of Wellington's brother and my husband's great-uncle, was our Ambassador at Paris at that period (1846), and both he and Lady Cowley were very kind to me.

"It was an interesting time. Louis-Philippe's throne was tottering. The Queen, Amélie, often came to the British Embassy; she was the only woman among those Bourbon-Orleans, and, had she had her way, would never have fled from Paris without a fight for the crown. She was also the best woman possible—really a saint. Lord Cowley died when we were in Paris, at the Embassy, from the effects of a severe cold. My husband, of course, went to the funeral. He was the most charming of all that Wellesley family, and the most lovable. Only one of them, Lord Mornington, sat in the House of Lords by inheritance; the others, Lord Wellesley, the Duke, and Lord Cowley, won their seats by their deeds and talents."

THE END

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